आर्य्य भाषा पाठावली

द्वितीय भाग

गुरुकुल-मुख्याधिष्ठाता श्री महात्मा मुन्शीरामजी

की आज्ञानुसार

हल्दौर जिला बिजनौर निवासी

श्री लाला भवानीप्रसादजी गुप्त

से

निर्मित और संगृहीत

पं० अनन्तराम शर्म्मा

के प्रबन्ध से

गुरुकुलस्थ सद्धर्म्मप्रचारक यन्त्रालय में

मुद्रित

सम्वत् १९६६

प्रथमावृत्ति १००० } { मूल्य ।)

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भूमिका ।

स्वभावतः प्रश्न उठता है कि अन्य बीसियों हिन्दी पाठाव-लियों की विद्यमानता में इस नवीन " आर्यभाषा पाठावली " के लिखे जाने की क्या आवश्यकता थी ; क्या उनसे गुरुकुल में आर्यभाषा सिखलाने का काम नहीं लिया जासक्ता था ? इस के उत्तर में निवेदन है कि निम्न लिखित भाव इसके ग्रन्थन के प्रेरक हुए हैं ।

(१) सम्प्रति इस प्रान्त के सरकारी शिक्षा-विभाग में प्रचलित पाठावलिऐं ऐसी भाषा में लिखी गई हैं , कि उसको न तो उर्दू ही कह सक्ते हैं और न वह हिन्दी वा आर्य भाषा ही कही जासक्ती है। उस भाषा में संस्कृत शब्दों का पूर्ण रूप से बहिष्कार किया गया है और इस सिद्धान्त की ओर तनिक भी ध्यान नहीं दिया गया कि बिना किसी प्राचीन भाषा (Classical language) की सहायता के किसी प्रचलित भाषा (Vernaculer) का निर्बाह नहीं हो सक्ता ; कुल प्रचलित भाषाओं की जीवनदात्री प्राचीन भाषाऐं ही होती हैं । जो २ प्रचलित भाषाऐं उन्नत, परिमार्जित और परिष्कृत बनी है, उन्हों ने किसी प्राचीन भाषा के शब्दों

वा रूपान्तरों को लेकर ही अपनी श्रीवृद्धि की है; वर्तमान अंग्रेजी और बङ्गभाषा इस के प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण हैं। यदि अंग्रेजी में से ग्रीक और लेटन के शब्दों और रूपान्तरों को निकाल देवें वा बङ्ग-भाषा में से संस्कृत शब्दों को बाहर कर दिया जाय तो अंग्रेजी और बङ्गभाषा की जो दुर्दशा होगी, उसको विद्वान् स्वयं विचार सकते हैं; इस का दुष्परिणाम यही निकलेगा, कि जहाँ अब एक पारिभाषिक वा संज्ञावाचक शब्द से काम निकल जाता है, वहाँ उसके स्थान में वाक्य के वाक्य प्रयोग में लाने पड़ेंगे और इस से वह भाषा बिल्कुल भद्दी बन जायगी। आर्य भाषा से संस्कृत शब्दों के बहिष्कार-वादी स्वपक्ष की पुष्टि में यह हेतु देते हैं कि संस्कृत शब्दों के समावेश से आर्य भाषा क्लिष्ट बन जाती है और उसके प्रचार में बाधा पड़ती है, परन्तु वे चित्र को एक ही ओर से देखते हैं और इस बात को नितान्त भुला देते हैं कि जन-साधारण की बोलचाल की भाषा और लिखित (Litorary) भाषा सदैव भिन्न रही हैं और लिखित भाषा निरक्षरों को कठिन ही प्रतीत हुआ करती है, और वह बिना पढ़े उनको कभी नहीं आसक्ती। जहाँ संस्कृत के पक्षपाती एक अति पर जाते हैं और आर्य भाषा में संस्कृत शब्दों की भरमार करके उसे क्लिष्ट बना देते हैं, वहाँ दूसरे पक्ष वाले दूसरी अति पर चले जाते हैं और आर्य भाषा को बिल्कुल ग्रामीण भाषा

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भूमिका ।

स्वभावतः प्रश्न उठता है कि अन्य बीसियों हिन्दी पाठावलियों की विद्यमानता में इस नवीन "आर्यभाषा पाठावली" के लिखे जाने की क्या आवश्यकता थी ; क्या उनसे गुरुकुल में आर्यभाषा सिखलाने का काम नहीं लिया जासक्ता था ? इस के उत्तर में निवेदन है कि निम्न लिखित भाव इसके ग्रन्थन के प्रेरक हुए हैं।

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बना देना चाहते हैं। वे पारिभाषिक शब्दों को भी, जो सब प्रचलित भाषाओं में प्राचीन भाषाओं (Classical languages) से ही लिये जाते हैं, संस्कृत जैसी परिपूर्ण और प्रत्येक भाव-प्रदर्शन में समर्थ भाषा से नहीं लेना चाहते और आर्य भाषा को एक नीरस और साहित्य के गुणों से रहित भाषा बना देने का प्रयत्न करते हैं। इस का परिणाम यह निकला है कि उन पाठावलियों को पढ़कर भाषा की अन्तिम परीक्षा (Hindi Vernac-(uler Final Examination) में उत्तीर्ण विद्यार्थियों में आज कल के समाचार और सामयिक पत्रों में प्रचलित भाषा को भी भली भांति समझने की योग्यता नहीं होती। अतएव एक ऐसी आर्य्य-भाषा पाठावली की आवश्यकता है कि जिस को पढ़ कर, जहाँ बालकों को परिमार्जित, शुद्ध और सरल आर्य्य-भाषा को समझने की और लिखने की योग्यता प्राप्त हो, वहाँ उन में बाल्यावस्था से ही साहित्य रुचि भी शनैः २ उत्पन्न होती जाय।

(२) अद्यावधि, पाठावलियों में जो कविताएं रक्खी गई है, वे सब पुरानी अप्रचलित [Obsolete] भाषा की ही हैं। वस्तुतः यह एक आक्षेप की बात है कि हमारी आर्य्य भाषा का गद्य और भाषा में है और पद्य एक अन्य ही भाषा में है। इस से मेरा तात्पर्य पुरानी हिन्दी [ब्रज भाषा आदि] के धन्य मान्य

तुलसी सूर आदि महा-कवियों की कविताओं के महत्व घटाने का नहीं है; उन के ग्रन्थ आर्य्य भाषा के लिए सदैव गौरव-स्वरूप रहेंगे और मैं ने भी आगे चल इस मालिका के तृतीय भाग को तुलसीकृत रामायण की मनोहारिणी और शिक्षा-मयी कविता से अलंकृत करने का उद्योग किया है; किन्तु मेरा अभिप्राय केवल यह है कि जो प्रचलित भाषा कविता से शून्य है, वह अङ्ग-हीन ही कहलाती है; क्योंकि भाषा में जीवन डालने वाली सुकवियों की कविता ही होती है। हर्ष का विषय है कि इस न्यूनता को सरस्वती आदि में लिखने वाले कतिपय सुकवियों ने दूर करने का उपक्रम कर दिया है, किन्तु अभी तक बालकों के पढ़ाने योग्य सरल कविताएँ न्यून ही बनी हैं और जो बनी हैं उनको बालकों की पाठ्य-पुस्तकों में रखकर उन से लाभ नहीं उठाया गया। पुरानी भाषा की कविताएँ प्रचलित-भाषा में लब्ध-प्रवेश प्रौढ विद्यार्थियों को तो लाभप्रद और आनन्द-दायक हो सकती हैं किन्तु अल्पवयस्क प्रारम्भिक विद्यार्थी न तो उन में कुछ रसास्वादन ही कर सकते हैं और न वे भाषा ज्ञान में उन से कुछ अधिक लाभ प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। प्रत्युत प्रथम ही एक नवीन भाषा पढ़ाने से उन की मानसिक शक्तियों पर एक बोझ सा पड़ता है। अंग्रेजी आदि अन्य भाषाओं की पढ़ाई में भी ऐसा ही नियम देखा जाता है कि शेक्सपियर आदि [Shakespeare] के पुरानी भाषा

के काव्य उच्च श्रेणियों में ही पढ़ाये जाते हैं और निम्न श्रेणियों में सरल प्रचलित भाषा की कविताएँ ही पढ़ाई जाती हैं। इस लिए इस मालिका की प्रथम दोनों पाठावलियों में तो केवल प्रचलित खड़ी बोली के पद्य रक्खे गये हैं और तीसरी पाठावली मे लेकर आगे २ पुरानी भाषा की कविताओं का भी समावेश किया गया है। खड़ी बोली की कविताओं के लिए संग्रहीता सुप्रसिद्ध सरस्वती पत्रिका प्रयाग और उस के कृतविद्य सम्पादक का अनुगृहीत और ऋणी है, क्यों कि खड़ी बोली की अधिकाँश कविताएँ उसी पत्रिका से संग्रह की गई हैं।

३—इस समय अन्य प्रान्तों में जो और २ भाषा पाठावलियाँ विद्यमान् है, उन में कई की भाषा तो ऐसी बेढंगी, अशुद्ध और स्थानिक ग्रामीण शब्दों से पूर्ण है कि उनको बालकों को पढ़ाने से उनकी भाषा में भी वे दोष आजाने सम्भव है; कई पाठावलियों के सब भागों में एक सी ही वाक्य रचना रक्खी गई है अर्थात् उनकी भाषा आनुक्रमिक [Graduated] नहीं है। कई पाठावलियों में वस्तु वर्णनात्मिक पाठ [Object lessons] लगातार रक्खे गये हैं; उनको पढ़ते २ बालकों का जी उकता जाताहै; उनमें कथाओं को, कि जिन से बालक सुगमता से सुशिक्षा ग्रहण कर सकते हैं, बीच बीच में स्थान नहीं दिया गया; न मध्य मध्य में बालकों का मनोरञ्जन करने वाली कविताएँ ही रक्खी गई हैं। जो पुरानी भाषा की कविताएँ

दी भी गई हैं, वे पुस्तक के अन्त में एकत्र रख दी गई हैं, जिस से बालकों को एक विषय के पाठों का एक मानसिक अजीर्ण सा हो जाता है। इस आर्य्य भाषा पाठावली में इन त्रुटियों को दूर करने का यथाशक्य प्रयत्न किया गया है। इस पाठावली मालिका का मुख्य उद्देश्य तो, जैसा कि ऊपर कहा गया है, विद्यार्थियों में आर्य्य-भाषा साहित्य का अनुराग और उस में उन की गति उत्पन्न करना है; किन्तु इस के ग्रन्थन में निम्न लिखित बातों को भी विशेषतः लक्ष्य में रक्खा गया है—

(१) इस की भाषा शुद्ध, सरल, प्रचलित आर्य्य भाषा रक्खी गई है, किन्तु पारिभाषिक और संज्ञा-बाचक शब्द संस्कृत के ही प्रयोग किये हैं; इस से इस भाषा में किन्हीं को कदाचित् यत्किञ्चित् कठिनता का भ्रम हो तो आश्चर्य्य नहीं, किन्तु यदि आदि से ही बालकों को बोल चाल तथा पाठों में इन शब्दों का अभ्यास कराया जायगा तो वे कदापि क्लिष्ट प्रतीत न होंगे और नित्य प्रति की बोल चाल की भाषा के शब्द बन जायंगे। यथा—दूध पिलाने वाले पशुओं को **स्तन-पायी**, दो खुर वालों को **द्विशफ**, जुगाली को **रोमन्थ**, पक्षियों को **अंडज** तथा रेंगने वालों को **कृमी** कहने लगें तो कोई कठिनता भान न होगी। अंग्रेज़ी आदि में भी इसी प्रकार लेटन आदि के शब्द प्रयुक्त होने लगे हैं और दूर क्यों जायँ, हमारी उर्दू में इसी प्रकार फ़ारसी के

सैंकड़ों शब्द प्रयुक्त होते हैं और उन को कोई भी क्लिष्ट नहीं बतलाता ।

(२) इस में प्रथम भाग से लेकर उत्तरोत्तर तारतम्य वा उतार चढ़ाव की भाषा रक्खी गई है अर्थात् प्रथम भाग से द्वितीय में और द्वितीय से तृतीय में, इसी प्रकार आगे २ शब्द, अर्थ और विषय की गम्भीरता वा कठिनता बढ़ाई गई है ।

(५) इस में ५ प्रकार के पाठ रक्खे गये हैं--**वर्णनात्मिक कथा धर्म्म और आचार शिक्षा, कविता** और **स्वास्थ्य रक्षा सम्बन्धि** ।

क--**वर्णनात्मिक** पाठों में क्रम विवक्षित है । प्रथम भाग में **ग्राम्य** वा **गृह्य** पशुओं के वर्णन रक्खे गये हैं; तत्पश्चात् आगे अपरिचित जन्तुओं और बस्तुओं के वर्णनों को स्थान दिया गया है । वर्णनात्मिक पाठों में इस पर विशेष ध्यान दिया गया है कि विद्यार्थी को साधु और सरल भाषा में स्व अनुभूत किसी वस्तु का वर्णन करना आजाय ।

ख--**कथाओं** में जन्तु नहीं बुलाए गये वा कोई ऐसी बात नहीं लिखी गई कि जिस से देश में पूर्व से फैले हुए मिथ्या विश्वास (Superstition) में बृद्धि हो, किन्तु उन में बालकों वा पुरुषों की ही कथाएँ आधिकतर लिखी गई है, जिस से कि बालकों के चित्त पर अधिक प्रभाव पड़े और वे उन से

सुगमतया और शीघ्रतया शिक्षा ग्रहण कर सकें । कथा-प्रसंग में ही कहीं २ महात्माओं और विख्यात पुरुषों की जीवनी भी दी गई हैं, जिन से बालकों के हृदय में बाल्यावस्था से ही इतिहास विद्या का अनुराग उत्पन्न करना अभिप्रेत है ।

धर्म्म और आचार शिक्षा सम्बन्धी पाठों में मत मतान्तरों की शिक्षा नहीं रक्खी गई, किन्तु सर्व-सम्मत सार्व-जनिक धर्म्म और आचार की शिक्षाएँ ही सरल शब्दों में देने का प्रयत्न किया गया है ।

घ—जैसा कि ऊपर वर्णन किया गया है, गद्य और पद्य की भाषा एक रक्खी गई है अर्थात् अधिकाँश **कविताएं प्रचलित खड़ी बोली** की ही दी गई है, किन्तु आगे चल कर तृतीय भाग से पुरानी भाषा की कविताओं का भी समावेश किया गया है, जिस से कि भावी सन्तानें अपने प्राचीन कवियों के मनोरम काव्यों के आनन्द से वंचित न रहें ।

ङ—**स्वास्थ्य-रक्षा के पाठों** को इस लिए स्थान दिया गया है कि प्रत्येक मनुष्य को स्वस्थ रहने की परमावश्यकता है और बिना स्वास्थ्य-रक्षा के नियमों के ज्ञान के कोई भी स्वस्थ नहीं रह सकता । खेद का विषय है कि हमारे आज कल के बहुत से विद्वान् अन्य विद्याओं के प्रकाण्ड पण्डित होते हुए भी स्वस्थ्य-रक्षा की विद्या से अपरिचित ही रहते हैं । सम्प्रति जो रोगों की इतनी अधिकता

देखी जाती है उस का एक कारण स्वास्थ्य-रक्षा के नियमों की अनभिज्ञता भी है अतएव स्वास्थ्य-रक्षा के नियमों के जानने की परमावश्यकता देख कर ये पाठ रक्खे गये हैं ।

इस पाठावली के संग्रह में मेरा जो लक्ष्य था, केवल वह मैंने ऊपर वर्णन किया है । उस में मुझ को कहाँ तक सफलता प्राप्त हुई है, यह दूसरा प्रश्न है । मेरा विचार है कि मैंने बहुत स्थानों पर ठोकरें खाई होंगी और मुझ से भाषा और अर्थ सम्बन्धी कई अशुद्धियाँ हुई होंगी । न ही इस कार्य्य सम्पादन के लिये मुझे अपनी योग्यता का अभिमान है, किन्तु अपने से योग्यतर कृतविद्यों की इस ओर प्रवृत्ति न देख कर और महामान्य महात्मा मुन्शीराम जी गुरुकुल मुख्याधिष्ठाता की आज्ञा को शिरोधार्य करके मैं ने इस कार्य्य में प्रवृत्त होने की चपलता की है और स्वसंकीर्ण योग्यता के अनुसार इस की पूर्त्ति में यत्किञ्चित उद्योग किया है । आशा है कि विद्वन्महाशय भी इस को इसी भाव से ग्रहण करेंगे और इस की वास्तविक त्रुटियों से भी मुझ को प्रेम-पूर्वक सूचित करेंगे कि आगामी संस्करण में—यदि उस का अवसर आया—उन को दूर कर दिया जाय ।

संग्रहीता

गुरुकुल भूमि—काँगड़ी
चैत्र शुक्ला पूर्णिमा सं० १९६६ वै०

आर्य्यभाषा पाठावली ।

द्वितीय भाग

❋ विषयसूची ❋

ओ३म्

आर्य्य भाषा पाठावली ।

द्वितीय भाग ।

पाठ १

ईश प्रार्थना ।

(१)

हे दीन पालक ! दयामय ! दुःख हारी !
हे हे महा-महिम ! मङ्गल-मूल-कारी !
हे प्रेम-मूर्त्ति ! परमेश्वर नाम-धारी !
थोड़ी विनीत विनती सुनिए हमारी ॥

(२)

आलस्य, मोह, मद, मत्सर में हमारे
जो ये मनुष्य सब डूब गये बिचारे ।
सो तो गये; न उन का अब आसरा है;
हे नाथ ! हाल उन का अति ही बुरा है ॥

(३)

जो ये, परन्तु सब बालक हैं दिखाते;
माता, पिता, गुरु जिन्हें श्रम से सिखाते ।

सन्मार्ग में तुम सदा उन को चलाओ;
　　ए हो दयामय ! दया इतनी दिखाओ ॥

(४)

हो सत्य बात हम को सब काल प्यारी;
　　हे दीन बन्धु ! अभिलाष यही हमारी ।
बोलैं न झूठ; उस से अति दूर भागें;
　　राखैं सुसङ्ग; खल सङ्गति में न लागें ॥

(५)

आलस्य, फूट, मदिरा, मद दोष सारे
　　छाये यहां सब कहीं टरते न टारे ।
हे भक्त वत्सल ! इन्हैं उन से बचाओ;
　　हस्तारविन्द इन के सिर पै लगाओ ॥

(६)

उद्योग और श्रम शिल्प कला सिखाओ,
　　व्यापार में मन सदा इन का लगाओ ।
विद्या, विवेक, धन, धान्य सभी बढ़ाओ;
　　आरोग्य और बलवान् इन्हैं बनाओ ॥

(७)

देखो ! यहां सकल बालक ये खड़े हैं,
　　छोटे अनेक, दस पांच कहीं बड़े हैं ।

हे हे दयालु; इन का कर थांभ लीजै;
कीजै कृपा; अब इन्हें मत छोड़ दीजै ॥

{ श्री० पं० महावीरप्रसाद जी द्विवेदी कृत सरस्वती मासिक पत्रिका से }

पाठ २

मोर ।

१—मोर भारतवर्ष के सुन्दर और मनोहर पक्षियों में है। इस का रङ्ग बड़ा चित्र विचित्र होता है। सब से अधिक शोभा देने वाली इस की लम्बी और विस्तृत पूँछ है। वह बहुत से पंखों के समूह से बनी हुई है। प्रत्येक पंख पर विविध रंगों की एक गोल आकृति होती है। इस आकृति में बहुत से चन्द्र से बने रहते हैं। मोर जब चाहता है अपनी दुम को पंखे के समान फैला लेता है। जब वह नाचता है, तब उस की फैली हुई पूंछ विशेष शोभा देती है।

२—मोर के सिर पर हरे परों की एक कलग़ी होती है जो राज-मुकुट के सदृश उस की सुन्दरता को दुगना कर देती है। उस की ग्रीवा सुराही के समान लम्बी और गोल होती है। उस की ग्रीवा और कमर के रूएँ का रंग काली, हरी और सुनहरी झलक लिये होता है। मोर के पांव उस के सारे शरीर की सुन्दरता के विपरीत भद्दे और कुरूप होते

हैं। मोरनी के सिर पर कलगी नहीं होती न उस की दुम ही वैसी लम्बी और सुन्दर होती है।

३—मोर दाने दुनके वा कीड़े मकोड़े खाकर निर्वाह करता है। वह सर्प को भी मार कर खा जाता है इसी लिये उस को संस्कृत में अहि-मार या भुजङ्ग-भुक् भी कहते हैं। जहां मोर अधिकता से होते हैं वहां सांप नहीं रहता। भारी शरीर होने के कारण मोर अधिक ऊँचा और वेग से नहीं उड़ सकता जब कभी वह उड़ता है तो एक वृक्ष से दूसरे वृक्ष पर उड़ कर जा बैठता है, अधिक नहीं।

४—मोरनी अण्डे देती है। फिर उन अण्डों पर कई दिन तक बैठी रह कर उन को गरम करती है। यह 'अण्डे सेवना' कहलाती है। उसके शरीर की उष्णता से अण्डे फूट जाते हैं और उन में से बच्चे निकल आते हैं। सब पक्षियों के बच्चे अण्डों से ही उत्पन्न होते हैं और इस लिये सारे पक्षी अण्डज कहलाते हैं। उन के बच्चे अपने माता पिताओं के साथ दाने चुगते फिरते हैं वा जब वे बहुत छोटे होते हैं तो उन के माता पिता अपनी चंचुओं में चुग्गा लाकर उन की चोंच में देते रहते हैं, कोई अण्डज अपने बच्चों को दूध नहीं पिलाता क्योंकि उन के दूध होता ही नहीं।

९—मोर हरे भरे वृक्षों में रहते हैं। वर्षा-ऋतु में, जब चारों ओर हरियाली छा जाती है, वे बड़े प्रसन्न रहते हैं। जब मेघ गरजता है, वे भी आनन्द में भर कर उस के साथ कूक देते हैं। इसी लिये मोर का नाम संस्कृत में "**मेघनादानुलासी**"—अर्थात् मेघों का शब्द सुनकर बोलने और नाचने वाला भी है उस समय उन का शब्द बड़ा प्रिय लगता है। वस्तुतः मोर आदि सुन्दर पक्षियों से ही उद्यान और बन की शोभा है।

पाठ ३

सुद्युम्न राजा, शङ्ख और लिखित मुनि।

१—शङ्ख और लिखित नाम के दो भ्राता थे। वे दोनों बड़े तपस्वी और सदाचारी थे। 'बाहुदा' नदी के तट पर, उन के, अलग अलग बहुत ही रमणीय, फल और पुष्पों से शोभित और सुन्दर आश्रम थे।

२—एक दिन लिखित मुनि अपने भ्राता शङ्ख के आश्रम में उन से मिलने गये। शङ्ख उस समय अपने आश्रम से बाहर कहीं घूमने को गये हुए थे। लिखित मुनि अपने भ्राता के आश्रम में पहुँच कर, वहां वृक्षों पर लगे हुए पके फल तोड़ २ कर खाने लगे। इतने में शङ्ख मुनि भी बाहर

से भ्रमण कर के वहां आन पहुँचे। भ्राता को आया देख कर, लिखित मुनि ने उन के समीप जाकर नमस्ते कहा।

३—शङ्ख ने भ्राता को फल खाते हुए देख कर उन से पूछा कि ये आप ने कहां पाए ? लिखित ने उत्तर दिया, कि ये स्वादिष्ट, मधुर और सुन्दर फल आप के ही आश्रम के वृक्षों से मैं ने तोड़ लिये हैं। शङ्ख ने अप्रसन्न होकर कहा, "भ्रातः! आप ने मेरी अनुपस्थिति में मेरी आज्ञा विना इन फलों को लिया है; अतएव आप को चोरी का पाप लगा। यद्यपि फलों की कोई बात नहीं है, तथापि धर्म के अनुसार, इस पाप का फल भोग कर आप को इस से छुटकारा पाना चाहिये; इस लिये राजा के पास जाकर और अपना अपराध स्वीकार कर के उस से प्रार्थना करो कि महाराज! मुझ को आप चोर समझ कर न्याय के अनुसार चोरों का दण्ड दीजिये"

४—अपने भ्राता की आज्ञानुसार लिखित मुनि राजा सुद्युम्न के पास गये। राजा ने उन का बड़ा आदर सत्कार किया और आने का कारण पूछा। लिखित ने कहा, महाराज! मैंने अपने वड़े भ्राता के आश्रम में जाकर, विना उन की आज्ञा के, फल तोड़ कर खाये हैं; अतएव मैं अब चोर हूँ। आप मुझे इस अपराध में न्यायानुसार दण्ड दीजिये राजा ने कहा कि, मैं आप जैसे महात्मा को कैसे दण्ड दे

सकता हूं । परन्तु लिखित ने दण्ड पाए विना जाने से इनकार किया । तब राजा ने न्याय के अनुसार लिखित मुनि के दोनों हाथ कटवा दिये ।

५—चोरी के अपराध में हाथ कटाकर, लिखित मुनि अपने भ्राता शङ्ख के निकट आए, और आकर उन से कहा कि, मैंने राजा के न्यायालय में जाकर चोरी का उचित दण्ड पालिया । अब आप मेरे अपराध को क्षमा कीजिये । अपने लघु भ्राता के वचन को सुन कर शङ्ख ने कहा कि भ्रातः ! तुम ने मेरा कोई अपराध नहीं किया, जिसे मैं क्षमा करूँ । तुम धर्म से भ्रष्ट हुए थे, इस लिये मैंने तुम से राजा के पास जाने और पाप-मुक्त होने को कहा था । तुम ने सत्य का वर्ताव किया और अपने पाप कर्म का फल पाकर पाप से मुक्त हुए । अब तुम बाहुदा नदी के तट पर रह कर स्वाध्याय करो और फिर कभी कोई वस्तु उस के स्वामी की आज्ञा विना न लेना, ऐसा करना महा-पाप है ।

६—इस प्रकार अपने ज्येष्ठ-भ्राता शङ्ख से उपदेश पाकर लिखित मुनि नदी के तट पर जाकर स्वाध्याय करने लगे ।

इस कथा से हम को भी यही शिक्षा मिलती है कि बिना आज्ञा के कभी किसी की कोई वस्तु न लेवें और यदि हम से

कोई अपराध हो जाय तो उस को तत्क्षण स्वीकार करलें, अन्यथा उस का पाप अवश्य लगेगा ।

(बाल भारत से, परिवर्तित)

पाठ ४

प्रतिध्वनि ।

१—कृष्ण एक दिन सघन बन में खेलने गया । वहां उस ने एक बार "ओ३!" यह शब्द चिल्ला कर कहा, उस के उत्तर में भी उस को ओ३! ही सुनाई दिया ।

२—उस ने कहा "कौन है" उस के उत्तर में भी "कौन है" यही ध्वनि उस के कान में आई । यह सुन कर वह बड़ा विस्मित हुआ और चारों ओर आश्चर्य्य से देखने लगा किन्तु उत्तर देने वाला कोई उस की दृष्टि में न आया ।

३—उस ने सोचा कि बन में छिपा कोई मनुष्य मुझ से उपहास कर रहा है और मेरे शब्दों को दोहरा रहा है, इस लिये उस ने चिल्ला कर कहा "मूर्ख मनुष्य!!" उस को "मूर्ख मनुष्य !" ही उत्तर मिला ।

४—इस पर कृष्ण को क्रोध आ गया और वह अपशब्द बकने लगा किन्तु उत्तर में उस को बन में से वे ही अपशब्द फिर सुनाई दिये ।

५–कृष्ण ने सारे बन को ढूँढा किन्तु उस के शब्दों का अनुकरण करने वाला उस को वहां कोई भी न मिला। विवश होकर वह अपने घर को लौट आया और वहां आनकर उस ने अपने पिता से कहा कि बन में छिपा हुआ कोई मनुष्य मेरे शब्दों का अनुकरण कर रहा था और मैं उस को वहाँ देख न सका।

६–उस के पिता ने उत्तर दिया, "कृष्ण! वहां तुम्हारे शब्दों का अनुकरण करने वाला कोई भी नहीं था; वह तुम्हारे शब्दों की प्रति-ध्वनि मात्र थी, जो लौटकर तुम्हारे कानों में आती थी।

जब हम किसी सघन बन वा किसी बन्द और ऊँचे गृह में उच्च-स्वर से कोई शब्द बोलते हैं तो हमारे कानों में वही शब्द लौट कर सुनाई देता है; इस का कारण यह है कि हमारे शब्दों की गूँज वायु में भर कर उस बन्द गृह वा बन से बाहर नहीं जाने पाती किन्तु भित्तियों वा वृक्षों से टकराकर फिर हम को सुनाई देती है। इस टकराकर लौटी हुई ध्वनि को प्रतिध्वनि कहते हैं।

७–कृष्ण! अपशब्द प्रथम तुम्हारे ही मुख से निकले थे यदि तुम अच्छे शब्द बोलते तो उत्तर में भी तुम को

अच्छे शब्द सुनाई देते। "अच्छे शब्दों की प्रति-ध्वनि भी अच्छी आती है"; इस लिये जब बोलो अच्छे और मधुर शब्द ही बोलो"।

पाठ ५

भैंस।

१—तुम प्रथम पाठावली में गौ का वर्णन पढ़ आए हो, भैंस में भी गौ के सदृश कई बातें पाई जाती हैं। भैंस भी दूध पिलाने वाला जन्तु है। सब दूध देने वाले जन्तु स्तन-पायी कहलाते हैं। भैंस भी गौ आदि के सदृश द्विशफ (दो खुर वाला) पशु है। उस के भी शृङ्ग होते हैं; उसे भी मनुष्य दुग्ध के लिये पालते हैं। वह भी रोमन्थ करती है और उस का खाद्य भी घास और भुसा है।

२—गौ से उस में विशेषताएँ ये हैं कि उस का चर्म्म गौ की अपेक्षा दृढ़तर होता है; उस का रंग प्रायः काला होता है। शरीर उस का भारी होता है। इसी लिये उस की टांगें भी अधिकतर दृढ़ और छोटी होती हैं और वह शीघ्र और बहुत दूर तक भाग नहीं सकती।

३—भैंस गरमी से घबराती है। जल उस को बहुत प्रिय है। वर्षा-ऋतु में वह अति प्रसन्न रहती है और हृष्ट पुष्ट हो

जाती है। वह बहुत देर तक जलाशयों में पड़ी रहती है। उस को तैरना भी आता है,वह कैसे ही वेग वाले जल-प्रवाह को तैर कर पार कर जाती है। बहुत से मनुष्य उस की पूँछ पकड़ कर नदी से पार उतरते हैं किन्तु उस में कठिनाई यह है कि वह जब चाहती है, जल में बैठ जाती है और उस के साथ वाले मनुष्य के डूब जाने की सम्भावना रहती है।

४–भैंस गौ की अपेक्षा बहुत दूध देती है और उस का दूध अन्य पशुओं के दूध से अधिक गाढ़ा और चिकना होता है। उस में मक्खन अधिक निकलता है किन्तु वह गोदुग्ध के समान स्वादु और हितकर नहीं होता।

५–भैंसे कृषि के काम आते हैं। उन में बैलों से अधिक बोझा ढोने की शक्ति होती है। वे कुएँ से चरस खींचते हैं, हल चलाते हैं और पर्वतों के ऊपर से लकड़ी के बड़े बड़े लट्ठे ढोकर लाते हैं।

६–जङ्गली अवस्था में वे अरने वा अरण्य भैंसे कहलाते हैं और बड़े बलवान् होते हैं कभी कभी वे सिंह को भी मार गिराते हैं।

पाठ ६

उपदेश-कुसुमाञ्जलि ।

(१)

करो सदा जग में शुभ काम,
　　जिस से मिले तुम्हें धन धाम ।
दुष्कर्मों को दीजे त्याग,
　　मन की पकड़ लीजिये बाग ॥

(२)

विद्या बिना न आदर होय,
　　जग में बात न पूछै कोय ।
जो विद्या पढ़ते भरपूर,
　　वे रहते प्रमोद में चूर ॥

(३)

विद्या सम धन नहिं जग और,
　　उसे चुरा सकते नहिं चौर ।
नृप से वह नहिं छीनी जाय,
　　बन्धु न उस को सकैं बँटाय ॥

(४)

दया धर्म्म का है शुभ मूल,
　　इसे छोड़ना कभी न भूल ।

हिंसा करते जो दिन रैन,
वे दुख के बनते हैं ऐन ॥

(५)

जिन के मन में है सन्तोष,
जग में वही पुरुष निर्दोष ।
सुख से रहते दुनिया बीच,
उन्हें न कोई कहता नीच ॥

(६)

पाप-कर्म्म से जिन का योग,
आस्तिक वे न कहाते लोग ।
नहीं जिन्हें ईश्वर का ज्ञान,
वे हैं महा-मूढ़ अज्ञान ॥

(७)

करते नहीं जो ईश्वर-ध्यान,
वे अवश्य पापी नादान ।
उन का होता नहिं कल्यान,
जग में पाते कष्ट महान ॥

{ श्रीमती पार्वती देवी कृत
सरस्वती पत्रिका प्रयाग से }

पाठ ७

आम ।

१—आम भारत-वर्ष का प्रधान और प्रख्यात फल है । वह बड़ा स्वादु और सुगन्ध-मय होता है, उस के कई भेद हैं; यथा—मालदा, सन्दूरिया, ककाड़िया कलमी, मोहन-भोग और लंगड़ा आदि आदि । उस का आकार भी विविध प्रकार का होता है । वह तोल में न्यूनाधिक एक छटांक से लेकर आध सेर तक होता है ।

२—उस की फ़सल वर्षा-ऋतु में आती है । प्रथम फाल्गुन वा चैत्र मास में उस के वृक्षों पर मौर आता है मौर आम के पुष्प को कहते हैं उन दिनों उस की सुगन्ध से सारा उद्यान महक उठता है । कोकिल को आम से बड़ा प्रेम है, यह पक्षी इस देश का वासी नहीं है किन्तु मौर आते ही यह इस देश में आजाता है आम के वृक्षों पर इस की कूक उद्यान की शोभा को द्विगुणित कर देती है ।

३—जब मौर सूख कर गिर पड़ता है, उसी के स्थान में, शाखाओं पर छोटे २ फल निकल आते हैं और यही बढ़ते २ आम होजाते हैं । भारी आमों के बोझ से डालियां टूट पड़ती हैं । इस लिये वृक्षों में छींके लटका कर उन में

फलों को रख देते हैं और वे उन छींकों में रक्खे हुए ही बढ़ते रहते हैं।

४-कच्चे आम खट्टे होते हैं मनुष्य उन की चटनी और अचार बना कर खाते हैं, किन्तु मनुष्य के लिये अधिक खटाई खाना हानि-कारक है उस से कई प्रकार के रोग हो जाते हैं विशेष कर ब्रह्मचारियों को तो खटाई कभी नहीं खानी चाहिये। आम का परि-पक्व फल खाने में मिष्ट और स्वादु होता है और शरीर को भी लाभ दायक होता है।

५-फल के मध्य में गुठली होती है। इस गुठली को ही भूमि में बोने से आम का वृक्ष उत्पन्न होता है गुठली को बोकर जल देते रहते हैं। दो एक सप्ताह में अङ्कुर फूट कर उस में से एक पौधा निकल आता है।

६-पौधा प्रथम बच्चे के समान छोटा होता है, किन्तु उस की भली प्रकार रक्षा की जाय तो वह बढ़ते २ बड़ा वृक्ष हो जाता है। उस का प्रकाण्ड (तना) मोटा हो जाता है और चार पांच वर्ष में उस पर फल आने लगते हैं ईश्वर की क्या ही अपरम्पार महिमा है कि ऐसी छोटी २ गुठलियों से ऐसे महाकाय वृक्ष उत्पन्न होते हैं।

७-आम का वृक्ष भी बड़ा सुन्दर होता है। वह हरित-पत्रों से आच्छादित रहता है। उस की छाया बड़ी सघन

होती है। विश्रान्त पथिक उस के नीचे ग्रीष्म ऋतु में विश्राम करते हैं, इस वृक्ष की लकड़ी गृह-निर्माण और ईन्धन के काम में आती है परन्तु वह साल वा शीशम के सदृश सुदृढ़ और चिरस्थायी नहीं होती; अतः इस के फलों से ही अधिक लाभ लेना चाहिये।

पाठ ८

प्रकाश-स्तम्भ।

१—समुद्र में कई ऐसी चट्टानें होती हैं कि जब जल चढ़ आता है, तो वे जल में डूबी रहती हैं और दिखलाई नहीं देतीं।

२—जहाज़ों को कभी २ इन चट्टानों से बड़ी हानि पहुँचती है, जब समुद्र में पूर वा बाढ़ आती है जहाज़ चलाने वाले इन जल-मग्न चट्टानों को नहीं देख सकते और उन के जहाज़ अचानक इन से टकराकर टुकड़े टुकड़े होकर डूब जाते हैं।

३—सब से अधिक भय रात्रि के समय होता है, क्योंकि दिन के समय तो चकराती हुई लहरों से ज्ञात भी हो जाता है कि यहां जल में चट्टान है किन्तु रात्रि में कुछ नहीं देख पड़ता।

४—जहाज़ों को इस आपदा से बचाने के लिये ऐसी चट्टानों पर प्रकाश-स्तम्भ बना दिये जाते हैं। प्रकाश-स्तम्भ ऊँचे मीनार के आकार का एक प्रकार का गृह होता है। उस के शिखर पर एक बड़ी लालटेन लगी रहती है। वह रात्रि भर प्रकाशित रहती है। जहाज़ चलाने वाले इस प्रकाश को देख कर उधर जहाज़ ले जाने से बच जाते हैं।

५—प्रकाश-स्तम्भ को कौन प्रकाशित करता है? उस पर एक मनुष्य नियुक्त रहता है; उस का कर्तव्य यही होता है कि वह लालटेन को नित्य प्रकाशित कर दिया करे और उस को स्वच्छ और सज्जित बनाए रक्खे। उस का परिवार भी प्रकाश-स्तम्भ के निचले गृह में उस के साथ निवास करता है और उस के कार्य्य में उस को सहायता देता है।

६—कभी २ समुद्र ऐसा क्षुब्ध हो जाता है कि प्रकाश-स्तम्भ पर से मनुष्य भूमि पर नहीं जा सकते वा स्थल से कोई मनुष्य उन के पास नहीं पहुँच सकता।

७—एक बार एक प्रकाश-स्तम्भ का रक्षक अपनी नौका लेकर स्थल पर कुछ भोज्य पदार्थ लेने गया और अपने पीछे प्रकाश-स्तम्भ पर, केवल अपने एक आठ वर्ष के बालक पुत्र को छोड़ गया।

८—वह अभी किनारे से लौटा नहीं था कि समुद्र में बड़े वेग से पूर आया । अन्धकार बढ़ता ही जाता था । रक्षक जानता था कि मैं किसी प्रकार समय पर प्रकाश-स्तम्भ तक नहीं पहुँच सकता, सब से अधिक भय उसे चट्टान से जहाज़ों के टकरा जाने का था, क्योंकि प्रकाश-स्तम्भ को प्रकाशित करने वाला उस दिन वहाँ कोई विद्यमान् न था ।

९—वह इसी चिन्ता में डूबा हुआ था कि कुछ काल पश्चात् उस को कैसी प्रसन्नता हुई जब कि उस ने प्रकाश-स्तम्भ के प्रकाश को किनारे पर से चमकते देखा ।

१०—उस को किस ने प्रकाशित किया था क्या तुम सोच सकते हो ? प्रकाश-स्तम्भ में केवल उस का छोटा बालक ही विद्यमान था, उस ने अपने पिता को लैम्प को ठीक और प्रकाशित करते हुए देखा था ।

११—बालक यह भी जानता था कि नित्य जब अन्धकार होने लगता है तब यह लैम्प जलाया जाता है; इस लिये वह यथा-समय अकेला ही स्तम्भ के शिखर पर चढ़ गया । उस ने देखा कि वायु बड़ा प्रचण्ड चल रहा है और समुद्र की लहरें चट्टान और स्तम्भ से टकरा रही हैं, किन्तु बालक भयभीत नहीं हुआ, वह एक कुरसी पर चढ़ा, पर उस का हाथ लैम्प तक न पहुँच सका, तब उस ने उस कुरसी

पर एक और कुरसी रख कर और उस पर चढ़ कर अपना हाथ वहां तक पहुँचाया, और दियासलाई जलाकर लैम्प को प्रकाशित कर दिया, क्षण मात्र में उस घोर अन्धकार में प्रकाश-स्तम्भ से आनन्द दायक प्रकाश चमकने लगा।

१३—उस रात्रि उस बालक के उद्योग से बहुत से जहाज़ आपदा से बच गये। जहाज़ वालों ने ईश्वर को धन्यवाद दिया और उस बालक को आशीर्वचन कहे। उस की भलाई की कथा सारे देश में फैल गई। **जो दूसरों का उपकार करते हैं उन की सारे जगत् में भलाई होती है।**

पाठ ९

गन्ना।

१—तुम ने बूरा, शक्कर वा गुड़ अवश्य खाया होगा, किन्तु तुम में से बहुत से कदाचित् यह न जानते होंगे कि ये चीज़ें किस वस्तु से और क्योंकर बनती हैं। बूरा आदि सब मिठाई गन्ने से ही बनती हैं। गन्ना तो तुम ने खाया ही होगा; आज इस पाठ में गन्ने का ही वर्णन करते हैं।

२—गन्ना डंडे के से आकार का एक वृक्ष होता है। उस में और वृक्षों के समान शाखा नहीं होतीं, प्रत्युत वह

मूल से चोटी तक सरल ही बढ़ता है। उस में बांस के सदृश पोरियां और गिरह होती हैं । उस की चोटी पर लम्बे, नोकीले और दुधारे पत्ते होते हैं वे अगोले कहलाते हैं और पशुओं का रुचिर खाद्य (चारा) होते हैं ।

३—गन्ने में मीठा रस भरा रहता है। मनुष्य उसे दातों से छील काटकर, वा चाकू से गंडेरियां बनाकर उस का रस चूसते हैं। इस प्रकार खाने से वह बड़ा स्वादु लगता है, गन्ने के रस से ही शर्करा आदि सब मिठाइयां बनती हैं। गन्ने के वृक्षों के समुदाय को ईख कहते हैं।

४—ईख गरम देशों में उत्पन्न होती है । सर्द देशों में उस का पौधा जीवित नहीं रह सकता। ईख चैत्र वैशाख में बोई जाती है । उस के बोने की रीति यह है कि गन्ने के छोटे छोटे टुकड़े करके खेतों में दबा देते हैं। उस की प्रत्येक गिरह से जहां आंख होती है, अंकुर फूट कर पौधा निकलता है । ग्रीष्म ऋतु में उन पौधों की बड़े यत्न से रक्षा की जाती है

वर्षा आरम्भ होने पर उन को यथेच्छ जल मिलता है, जिस से वर्षा ऋतु के अन्त तक वे बढ़कर अच्छे बड़े और मोटे हो जाते हैं। कच्चा गन्ना फीका होता है। कार्त्तिक मास तक वह पक कर मीठा हो जाता है ।

५-खेतों में से गन्नों को काट कर ग्राम में ले आते हैं। वहां उन को एक यन्त्र में, जिस को कोल्हू कहते हैं, दबा कर उन का रस निकालते हैं। रस को लोहे के बड़े बड़े कड़ाहों में डालकर पकाते हैं। जब वह पकते २ गाढ़ा हो जाता है उस को ठंडा करके मटकों में भर देते हैं; यह राब कहलाती है। यदि रस से गुड़ बनाना होता है, तो उस को अधिक गाढ़ा पकाते हैं और फिर उस को ठंडा कर के उस की भेली वा गिंदोड़े बांध लेते हैं, और यदि खरा माल हुआ तो कूट कर शक्कर बना लेते हैं।

६-राब से खाँड वा शर्करा बनाई जाती है। राब को एक स्थान विशेष में एक कोठे के अन्दर एकत्र कर के उस पर सूखी शैवाल (सिरवाल) घास बिछा देते हैं, और उस स्थान को उष्ण रखते हैं। शैवाल की उष्णता से राब में से शीरा (पतलारस) निचड़ कर पृथक् हो जाता है और शुद्ध शर्करा ऊपर रह जाती है। यह शर्करा धूप में सुखाने और मलने से और भी अधिक स्वच्छ और श्वेत हो जाती है। गन्ने से शर्करा बनाने के कार्य्य को खण्डसाल का व्यापार कहते हैं। शर्करा से ही अन्य सब प्रकार के मिष्टान्न बनते हैं।

७-हमारे भारतवर्ष में ईख की खेती और खांड का व्यापार सब से अधिक होता है और उस से राजा प्रजा

दोनों को बड़ी आय होती है । हमारे देश की सी स्वच्छ और मिष्ट शर्करा और कहीं नहीं बनती । अन्य देशों से जो शर्करा आती है वह अपवित्र पदार्थों के मेल से बनती है और उस में स्वदेशी शर्करा का सा मिठास और गुण भी नहीं होता; इस लिये स्वदेशी शर्करा ही सदैव काम में लानी उचित है ।

पाठ १०

दो बकरियां ।

१—एक ढलवां पहाड़ी पर दो बकरियां आमने सामने आती हुई एक पगदण्डी पर मिल गईं । वह पग-दण्डी ऐसी नेड़ी थी कि उन दोनों के बचकर निकल जाने वा पीछे लौट जाने के लिये भी वहां स्थान न था ।

२—उस पग-दण्डी के एक ओर तो एक ऊंचा चट्टान खड़ा हुआ था और दूसरी ओर एक बड़ी गहरी और वेग-वती जल की धारा बहती थी । तुम्हारे विचार में उन दोनों बकरियों ने क्या किया होगा ? ।

३—उन में से एक बड़ी सावधानी से उस नेड़ी पगदण्डी में लेट गई और उस ने शरीर को उस चट्टान से चिपटाए रक्खा ।

४—दूसरी बकरी शनैः उस के ऊपर पैर रखकर निकल गई और उस के चले जाने पर पहली बकरी ने भी उठकर अपना मार्ग लिया ।

५— इस प्रकार दोनों बकरियां उस संकुचित मार्ग से निकल गईं और फिर आनन्द पूर्वक हरी हरी दूब (दूर्वा) का स्वाद लेती हुई जङ्गल में विचरने लगीं । यदि उन्हों ने एक दूसरे की सहायता न की होती और दोनों ने ही प्रथम निकलने का आग्रह किया होता, तो वे टकरा कर और उस गहरी नदी में गिर कर अवश्य नष्ट हो जातीं किन्तु परस्पर सहायता करके वे दोनों बच गईं ।

६—हम को भी उचित है कि जब हम पर कोई संकट आन पड़े तो परस्पर सहायता करें और पहले पीछे के लिये न झगड़कर अपने ही कार्य्य साधने का ध्यान न रक्खें ।

पाठ ११

कपास ।

१—जो वस्त्र हम पहनते हैं, वे ऊन वा कपास से बनते हैं। कपास वृक्ष पर लगती है। कपास के वृक्ष को बाड़ी का पौधा भी कहते हैं । कपास के वृक्ष दो प्रकार के होते

हैं। एक प्रकार के बड़े वृक्षों के सदृश ऊंचे होते हैं और दूसरी प्रकार के दो डेढ़ गज़ ऊँचे छोटे होते हैं। बाड़ी के पत्ते हरे और फूल पीले होते हैं; खिले हुए पुष्पों का दृश्य बड़ा मनोहर होता है; यह प्रतीत होता है कि मानो केसर फूल रही है।

२—जब पुष्प गिर पड़ते हैं, तब उन के स्थान में फल लग आते हैं। कच्चे फल हरे होते हैं, परन्तु पकने पर उन में कुछ लाली की झलक आजाती है।

जब फल पूर्ण रूप से पक जाते हैं तो वे सूख कर खिल जाते हैं और उन में से श्वेत और नरम रूएँ वाली एक वस्तु निकलती है; वही कपास कहलाती है। वस्तुतः फल के मध्य का तन्तु-मय गूदा ही सूख कर कपास बन जाता है; फटे हुए फलों में से सब कपास चुन कर एकत्र कर ली जाती है।

३—फलों में से जो कपास निकलती है, उस में उस के बीज भी छिपे रहते हैं; उन को बिनौले कहते हैं। वे एक यन्त्र द्वारा जिस को चरखी कहते हैं, कपास में से पृथक् कर लिये जाते हैं। बिनौलों से पृथक होकर कपास का नाम रुई हो जाता है।

४—रुई को धुन कर मुलायम और स्वच्छ बनाया जाता है। यह कार्य करने वाला धुना या धुनिया कहलाता है। फिर

चरखे में कात कर उस का सूत बनाते हैं। सूत से बहुत प्रकार के मोटे और महीन वस्त्र बुने जाते हैं।

९—हमारे देश में बहुतायत से रुई उत्पन्न की जाती है, किन्तु यहां से उस का अधिकांश इङ्गलेण्ड को जाता है और वहां से उस का यन्त्रों द्वारा कपड़ा बुना जाकर यहां बिकने आता है। इङ्गलेण्ड देश में कपड़ा बुने जाने के बहुत से कारखाने हैं। यदि हमारे देश की रूई का कपड़ा, कारखाने स्थापित कर के यहीं बनाया जाय तो इस देश को बड़ा लाभ हो और जो बहुत सा धन कपड़े के मूल्य में यहां से इङ्गलेण्ड आदि देशों को जाता है वह यहाँ का यहीं रहे।

पाठ १०

शिष्टाचार-शिक्षा।

१—जब दूसरों से मिलो, प्रसन्न होकर मिलो। जो तुम से बड़े हैं, उन को देखकर नमस्ते वा प्रणाम करो; उन के सामने सभ्यता से बैठो, अर्थात् उन से ऊँचे आसन पर वा उन की ओर पीठ कर के कभी न बैठो और उन से नम्रता से वार्तालाप करो।

२—भ्राताओं और साथियों से सदा प्रेम पूर्वक बर्ताव करो। उन की भलाई में अपनी भलाई समझो, यदि तुम उन

से प्रेम करोगे तो वे भी तुम से प्रेम करेंगे ।

३—सज्जनों का अनुकरण करो और दुष्टों के सङ्ग से सदा बचो । दुखियों की सहायता करो और अपराधियों के अपराध क्षमा करो ।

४—यदि कोई तुम से बुराई करे तो बुराई का बदला बुराई से न लो किन्तु यदि हो सके तो बुराई का बदला भलाई से दो ।

५—जो तुम्हारा उपकार करे उस का उपकार कभी न भूलो, किन्तु सदा उस के कृतज्ञ बने रहो । कृतघ्नता बड़ा दोष है । कृतघ्नी के साथ फिर कोई भलाई नहीं करता ।

६—सदा सावधान रहो, क्योंकि समय थोड़ा और काम बहुत है । प्रति-दिन अपने कामों की गणना करो और विचारो कि उस दिन तुम ने क्या खोया और क्या पाया । जिस दिन कोई नई बात न सीखी हो, समझलो कि वह दिन व्यर्थ ही गया ।

७—दूसरों के साथ ऐसा बर्ताव करो, जैसा कि तुम औरों से अपने लिये चाहते हो अर्थात् जो बर्ताव तुम अपने लिये नहीं चाहते वह औरों के लिये कदापि न करो । किसी को बुरा न कहो; तुम को भी कोई बुरा न कहेगा । तुम औरों की सहायता करो; तुम्हारी सहायता ईश्वर करेगा ।

पाठ १३

गिलहरी ।

कहते जिसे गिलहरी हैं सब ।
सभी निराले इस के हैं ढब ।
पेड़ों से नीचे है आती ।
फिर पेड़ों पर है चढ़ जाती ।
कुतर कुतर फल को है खाती ।
बच्चों को है दूध पिलाती ।
इस की रंगत भूरी कारी ।
आँखों को लगती है प्यारी ।
होती है यह इतनी चंचल ।
कहीं नहीं इस को पड़ती कल ।
उछल कूद में है यह जैसी ।
दौड़ धूप में भी है वैसी ।
बैठी इस धरती के ऊपर ।
दोनों हाथों में कुछ लेकर ।
जब यह जल्दी से है खाती ।
तब है कैसी भली दिखाती ।
चिकना चिकना रोआँ इस का ।
लुभा नहीं लेता जी किस का ।

मत तुम इस को ढेले मारो।
जी में इतनी बात विचारो।
कहीं इसे जो लग जावेगा।
तो इस का जी दुख पावेगा।
अब तक सब ने है यह माना।
जी का अच्छा नहीं दुखवाना ॥

{ पं० अयोध्यासिंह उपाध्याय कृत;
सरस्वती पत्रिका प्रयाग से }

पाठ १४

पहिये पर अपना ही कन्धा लगाओ।

१—एक किसान बोझ से लदी हुई अपनी गाड़ी सड़क पर लेजा रहा था। आगे चल कर सड़क में एक स्थान पर दलदल भरी हुई थी। उस दलदल में उस की गाड़ी फँस गई और उस में जुते हुए बैल उस को वहां से आगे न खींच सके।

२—गाड़ी कीचड़ में फँसी खड़ी थी और किसान प्रत्येक पथिक से, जो उस मार्ग से जाता था, अपनी गाड़ी को कीचड़ से निकलवा देने की प्रार्थना करता था, किन्तु उस की प्रार्थना पर कोई कान न देता था और प्रत्येक

यात्री उस को यही उत्तर देता था कि "पहिये पर अपना ही कन्धा लगाओ"।

३—जब किसान प्रार्थना करते २ थक गया और उस की किसी ने सहायता न की तो उस ने विवश होकर अपनी गाड़ी के पहिये पर अपने ही कन्धे से बल लगाया और उस के बल लगाने से गाड़ी कीचड़ में से निकल आई।

यदि वह पूर्व ही अपने कन्धे से बल लगाता तो उस को पथिकों से प्रार्थना करके निराश न होना पड़ता और उस की गाड़ी भी कभी की पहले कीचड़ से निकल गई होती।

४—कई आलसी मनुष्य, जिस काम को वे स्वयं कर सकते हैं, उस को भी दूसरों से ही कराना चाहते हैं, और जब दूसरों से उन को उत्तर मिल जाता है तो उन को अपना काम स्वयं ही करना पड़ता है। इस कथा से हम को यही शिक्षा मिलती है कि अपने ऊपर भरोसा रख कर अपना काम सदा स्वयं करना चाहिये, जिस किसी से वृथा प्रार्थना करते फिरना उचित नहीं है। अपने ऊपर भरोसा करने को ही स्वावलम्बन कहते हैं स्वावलम्बन से ही सब कार्य्य सिद्ध होते हैं।

पाठ १९

कुत्ता ।

१—मनुष्यों की छोटी से छोटी बस्ती में भी कोई न कोई कुत्ता अवश्य रहता है । यह जन्तु मनुष्य से बड़ा स्नेह रखता है । जिस मनुष्य से एक टुकड़ा भी पा लेता है उसका सदा कृतज्ञ बना रहता है; जब उस को देखता है प्रेम से अपनी दुम हिलाने लगता है । वह सब जन्तुओं से अधिक समझ रखता है; और ऐसा आज्ञाकारी और नम्र होता है कि सिखलाने से कई काम करने सीख जाता है । उस से अधिक कोई पशु अपने स्वामी का भक्त नहीं होता।

२—कुत्ते का शरीर लम्बोतरा होता है । उस का सिर भी लम्बा और नोकीला होता है। उस के दांत बिल्ली के दांतों के समान तीक्ष्ण और नोकीले होते हैं । उस के शरीर पर बाल होते हैं; परन्तु सब कुत्तों के एक से बाल नहीं होते। शीत-प्रधान देशों के कुत्तों के शरीर पर उन की शीत से रक्षा के लिये ईश्वर ने लम्बे और सघन बाल दिये हैं । ग्रीष्म-प्रधान देशों में उन के शरीर पर छोटे २ बाल होते हैं । उन के बालों के रङ्ग भी विविध प्रकार के होते हैं ।

३—कुत्ते के नख बड़े दृढ़ होते हैं, वे बिल्ली के नखों के समान मुड़े हुए और तीक्ष्ण नहीं होते; प्रत्युत सीधे और कुंठ होते हैं। कुत्ता अपने नखों को बिल्ली के सदृश भीतर नहीं सिकोड़ सकता; उस के नख सदा बाहर ही रहते हैं, और इस लिये उस के चलने में शब्द होता रहता है। उस की टांगे पतली होती हैं जिन से वह अति शीघ्रता से भाग सकता है।

४—कुत्ता मांसाहारी जन्तु है। उस की घ्राण शक्ति बड़ी प्रबल होती है। वह बिलों में छिपे हुए शशों और चूहों को सूंघ कर झट पा लेता है, और उन पर दौड़कर तत्काल ही आक्रमण कर देता है। बिल्ली के सदृश वह अपने शिकार पर घात नहीं लगाता।

५—कुत्ते की जिह्वा बिल्ली के सदृश खुरदरी नहीं होती; प्रत्युत चिकनी और मुलायम होती है। उस को जब गरमी लगती है, वह अपना मुख खोल देता है और उस की जिह्वा से जल टपका करता है। उसे मनुष्यों की भांति स्वेद नहीं आता, मांसाहारी किसी जन्तु को भी स्वेद नहीं आता; स्वेद के स्थान में उन की जिह्वा से जल ही टपकता है।

६—ग्रामों में घूमने फिरने वाले कुत्तों में कोई अच्छे गुण नहीं होते; वे इधर उधर टुकड़े खाते फिरा करते हैं;

किन्तु जो कुत्ते पले हुए होते हैं, उन को कई कर्तव्य सिखलाए जाते हैं। वे गृहों की रक्षा करते हैं किसी चोर उचक्के को नहीं आने देते; मुख में प्रकाश लेकर अपने स्वामी के साथ चलते हैं। कुत्तों की स्वामि-भक्ति की अनेक कथाएं प्रसिद्ध हैं।

पाठ १६

उद्योगी मोहन।

१—मोहन दश वर्ष का बालक था। एक दिन वह एक गठरी लिये हुए सड़क पर अपने ग्राम को जा रहा था। उस को तीन कोस जाना था और धूप तीक्ष्ण पड़ रही थी।

२—मार्ग में कई वृक्षों पर पक्षी-गण अपना मधुर शब्द सुना रहे थे। पुष्पों पर तितलियाँ इधर से उधर उड़ रही थीं। ऐसे दृश्य उस को ठहरने के लिये लुभा रहे थे, किन्तु मोहन शीघ्रता से अपने मार्ग चला जाता था। उस को केवल यह ध्यान था कि मैं जितना शीघ्र चलूंगा उतना ही पूर्व अपने स्थान पर पहुँचूगा।

३—इस प्रकार, जब वह चला जा रहा था, तो उस ने अपने पीछे से आती हुई एक गाड़ी का शब्द सुना, गाड़ीवान ने उस के निकट आनकर गाड़ी रोक दी, और उस से

यह ज्ञात करके कि, वह अगले ग्राम को जा रहा है, उस को अपनी गाड़ी पर बैठने की आज्ञा दी।

४—मोहन गाड़ीवान को धन्यवाद देकर सहर्ष उस की गाड़ी पर बैठ लिया। गाड़ीवान ने जो सज्जन किसान था मोहन से वार्तालाप प्रारम्भ किया, उस ने पूँछा,—"तुम जानते हो मैंने तुम को अपनी गाड़ी पर क्यों बैठाया है? मोहन ने उत्तर दिया "नहीं"

५—गाड़ीवान ने कहा, "इस का कारण यह है कि मैंने तुम को शीघ्रता से जाते हुए देखा और अपने कर्तव्य पर आरूढ़ पाया; इस लिये मैंने तुम को अपनी गाड़ी पर बिठला कर तुम्हारी सहायता की है।

६—यदि मैं तुम को यह गठरी लिये हुए आलसियों के समान जाते और व्यर्थ समय खोते देखता, तो मैं तुम्हारी बात भी न पूँछता। मैं उन मनुष्यों की ही सहायता करना उचित समझता हूँ, जो अपनी सहायता आप करते हैं अर्थात् जो स्वकर्तव्य में संलग्न हैं।

७-बालको! उस सज्जन किसान की बात पर तुम भी ध्यान दो। तुम जहाँ कहीं हो और जो कुछ भी करते हो, उस को परिश्रम से चित्त

लगा कर करो, आलसी मत बनो और काम के समय को व्यर्थ खेल कूद में मत गँवाओ।

पाठ १७

सिंह।

१–जो जन्तु दूसरे जन्तुओं को मार कर उन का मांस खाते हैं, वे **मांसाहारी** वा हिंस्र जन्तु कहलाते हैं। तुम को विदित है कि बिल्ली भी एक हिंस्र जन्तु है। वह चूहे आदिकों को मार कर खा जाती है। तुम बिल्ली का वर्णन पढ़ आए हो। आज बिल्ली से मिलते जुलते, परन्तु उस से बहुत बड़े एक जन्तु का वर्णन सुनो

२–हिंस्र जन्तुओं में सब से वाश्चष्ठ सिंह है। उस की आकृति बिल्ली से नितान्त मिलती है. वा उस को एक प्रकार की सब से बड़ी बिल्ली ही समझना चाहिये। जैसे बिल्ली के पंजों के नीचे माँस की गद्दी होती है और उस से उस के चलने में आहट नहीं होती, वैसे ही सिंह के पंजों के नीचे भी गद्दी होती है और उस के चलने में तनिक आहट नहीं होती।

वह बिल्ली के समान ही अपने नखों को इस गद्दी में छिपाए रहता है, और जब अपने शिकार पर आक्रमण करता

है, तो नखों को झट बाहर निकाल लेता है। सिंह का पंजा बड़ा भयानक होता है; वह जिस जन्तु पर एक वार पड़ जाता है फिर उस का बचना कठिन है।

३—हिंस्र जन्तु रात्रि में अपना शिकार पकड़ते हैं; इस के लिये उन को अन्धकार में भी देखने की आवश्यकता है। ईश्वर ने उन की आँख की बनावट ऐसी रक्खी है कि, उस से वे अन्धकार में भी देख सकते हैं।

५—आँख के तिल में, जब बाहर से प्रकाश जाता है तब ही वह देखती है। रात्रि को प्रकाश बहुत न्यून होता है; इस लिये रात्रि-समय प्रकाश ग्रहण करने के लिये आँख का तिल बड़ा और विस्तृत होना चाहिए। अतएव रात्रि के समय अन्धकार में बिल्ली और सिंह आदि हिंस्र जन्तुओं की आँख का तिल बढ़ कर गोल और विस्तृत हो जाता है और उस में अधिक प्रकाश जा सकने के कारण, वे अन्धकार में भी देख सकते हैं।

२—इस के विपरीत दिन में उन की आँख का तिल सिकुड़ कर एक पतली रेखा मात्र रह जाता है, और उस में न्यून प्रकाश समाने के कारण वे दिन में न्यून देख सकते हैं; दिन में उन की दृष्टि में चका चौंध लगती है। वस्तुतः

उन को दिन में अधिक देखने की आवश्यकता भी नहीं होती, और वे दिन भर पड़े सोया करते हैं; रात्रि के समय ही वे अपना आहार ढूँढने निकलते हैं ।

६–सिंह की टाँगें भी बिल्ली की टाँगों की भांति दृढ़ होती हैं और वह उस के ही समान दूर से छलाँग मार कर अपने शिकार पर जा पड़ता है । उस की मूछें भी बिल्ली की मूछों के समान होती हैं । इस समानता से हम को बोध होता है कि सिंह, बिल्ली की ही जाति में से है । जिनकी एकसी आकृति होती है, वे एक जातीय कहलाते हैं । अतः सिंह, बिल्ली, चीता आदि अनेक जन्तु, एक जातीय हैं । वे सब मार्जार जातीय जन्तु कहलाते हैं ।

७–सिंह सब पशुओं का राजा वा "मृग-राज" कहलाता है । वह बड़ा भयानक, वीर और तेजस्वी जन्तु है । वह सघन बनों और पर्वतों में रहता है । जिस समय, वह गरजता है, सारे बन में सन्नाटा छा जाता है ।

८–सिंह की ग्रीवा पर लम्बे २ बाल होते हैं यह उस की सटा या केसर कहलाती है, इसी लिए सिंह को केसरी वा केहरी कहते हैं; सिंही के सटा नहीं होती । सिंह के शरीर पर उज्वल, पीत, सघन रोमावली होती है, और उस की पीठ पर काली धारियाँ होतीं हैं ।

९—वह गौ, भैंस आदि पालतू और उपकारी पशुओं को मार कर भक्षण कर जाता है। कभी कभी वह मनुष्यों को भी पकड़ कर खा जाता है इत्यादि बड़ी हानि करता है; इस लिये मनुष्य भी उस को बन्दूक़ आदि से शिकार करते हैं, और मार कर, उस का चर्म निकाल लेते हैं। सिंह-चर्म बड़ा सुन्दर होता है, और बिछाने के काम में आता है। उसे कई परिक्रियाओं से जब स्वच्छ और मुलायम बनाया जाता है तब वह बहुत मूल्य को बिकता है।

पाठ १८

अच्छी और बुरी संगति।

१—एक दिन मनोहर के पिता ने उस को बुरे बालकों में खेलते देखा। इस से कुछ दिनों पूर्व उसने मनोहर के कुछ अनुचित व्यवहार देखे थे। उन का कारण उस ने इस समय जान लिया। उस को बड़ा खेद हुआ, परन्तु उस समय उस ने मनोहर से कुछ न कहा।

२—सायंकाल को वह अपने उद्यान से दस अमरूद लाया और उन को एक टोकरी में रखकर, उसने मनोहर को दिया। मनोहर ने अपने पिता को धन्यवाद देकर अमरूदों की टोकरी ले ली।

३—उस के पिता ने उस को आज्ञा दी कि "ये अमरूद चार पाँच दिन तक इस टोकरी में ऐसे ही रक्खे रहें जिस से कि ये भली प्रकार पक जावें"। मनोहर ने उस की आज्ञानुसार अमरूदों की टोकरी अपनी माता की अलमारी में रख दी।

४—जब वह उस टोकरी को रख रहा था, उस के पिता ने उस में एक सड़ा हुआ अमरूद और रख दिया और मनोहर से कहा कि इस को भी इसी टोकरी में रक्खा रहने दो।

५—मनोहर ने कहा, "पिता जी! इस गले हुए अमरूद के साथ अन्य अच्छे अमरूद भी गल जावेंगे"।

६—पिता ने कहा, "पुत्र! तुम्हारा ऐसा विचार क्यों है? अच्छे अमरूदों के साथ गला अमरूद भी क्यों न अच्छा हो जावेगा" यह कहकर उस ने अलमारी को बन्द कर दिया।

७—चार पाँच दिन पश्चात् उसने मनोहर को अलमारी खोलकर अमरूदों की टोकरी बाहर निकालने की आज्ञा दी। उस ने उस को निकाल कर देखा तो, दस अच्छे अमरूद भी गलकर सड़ गये थे और सारे में उन की दुर्गन्ध फैल रही थी।

८—मनोहर ने कहा, "पिता जी! मैंने पूर्व ही निवेदन किया था कि गले हुए अमरूद के साथ अच्छे अमरूद भी गल जावेंगे।"

९—पिता ने उत्तर दिया, " प्रिय पुत्र ! क्या मैंने तुम को कई बार नहीं कहा है कि बुरे बालकों की सङ्गति से तुम भी बुरे बन जाओगे, किन्तु तुम ने मेरी बात पर ध्यान नहीं दिया । मैं चाहता हूं कि तुम इन अमरूदों से ही शिक्षा लो, यदि तुम बुरों की संगति करोगे तो तुम भी उन के ही समान हो जाओगे "।

१०—मनोहर ने वह शिक्षा फिर कभी नहीं भुलाई । जब कभी उस के पहले साथी उस को खेलने के लिये बुलाते वह गले अमरूदों का ध्यान कर लेता, और उन के साथ खेलने से इनकार कर देता । तुम को भी मनोहर के समान बुरी संगति से सदैव बचना चाहिए ।

पाठ १९

भारत माता ।

१—भारत माता यही हमारी ।
है यह हम को अतिशय प्यारी ॥
इस की बार बार बलिहारी ।
तन मन धन सब इस पर वारी ॥

२—शोभा पुञ्ज हिमालय इस में ।
विन्ध्याचल उदयाचल इस में ॥

इस में मलयाचल आता है ।
जग में सौरभ फैलाता है ॥

३—गङ्गा यमुना बहती इस में ।
सरस्वती लहराती इस में ॥
इस में सिन्धु सोन भद्रा है ।
और चन्द्र-भागा सिप्रा है ॥
४—"सुजल सुफल" है मही यहाँ की ।
"सस्य श्यामला" मही यहाँ की ।
मलयज-शीतल मही यहाँ की ।
विविध-मनोहर मही यहाँ की ॥
५—लता, पत्र, फल पुष्प यहाँ हैं ।
हरे भरे सब वृक्ष यहाँ हैं ॥
जड़ी बूटियाँ बहुत यहाँ हैं ।
सुख दायक सब वस्तु यहाँ हैं ॥
६—दिव्य अन्न है, निर्मल जल है ।
सभी भाँति शोभित भूतल है ॥
वायु यहाँ का अति हितकर है ।
सकल-पदार्थ जाति सुखकर है ॥
७—लोहा, ताँबा, चाँदी, सोना ।
मानिक, नीलम, हीरा, पन्ना, ॥

स्थान स्थान पर धरा हुआ है ।
खानों भीतर भरा हुआ है ॥

८—राम, कृष्ण की है यह माता ।
द्रोण, भीष्म की है यह माता ॥
अर्जुन, विक्रम की यह माता ।
शिव प्रताप की है यह माता ॥

९—वाल्मीकि मुनि की यह माता ।
व्यास पतञ्जलि की यह माता ॥
जैमिनि, गौतम की यह माता ।
यही हमारी सब की माता ॥

१०—राम, कृष्ण के भाई हैं हम ।
द्रोण, भीष्म के भाई हैं हम ॥
अर्जुन, विक्रम के भाई हम ।
इस नाते सब के भाई हम ॥

११—इस में जन्म लिये से पाया ।
ऐसा पद हमने मन भाया ॥
करें सकल सुत ध्वनि सुखदाता ।
जय जय जय जय भारत माता ॥

१२—इक तन इक मन हो सब भाई ।
आओ मिल लें भाई भाई ॥

माता इस से सुख पावेगी ।
लोक मान्य यह हो जावेगी ॥

{ श्री पं० गिरिधर शर्मा कृत,
सरस्वती पत्रिका, प्रयाग से }

नोट—अध्यापक महाशय को चाहिये कि इस कविता में जिन नदियों और महापुरुषों के नाम आये हैं, उन का संक्षिप्त भौगोलिक और ऐतिहासिक वर्णन ब्रह्मचारियों को भली भांति सुनादें ।

पाठ २०

चिउँटी ।

१—जन्तु कई प्रकार के होते हैं । उन में से पक्षियों और पशुओं में से कई एक के वृत्तान्त तुम पढ़ आये हो । आज एक अन्य प्रकार के जन्तु का वर्णन करते हैं । जो छोटे २ जन्तु भूमि पर रेंगते फिरते हैं वे कृमि कहलाते हैं। चिउँटी भी एक छोटा सा कृमि ही है ।

२—चिउँटियाँ झुण्ड बाँध कर इकट्ठी रहती हैं, और अपना काम भी एकत्र मिल कर ही करती हैं । वे बड़ी साहसी होती हैं, और अपना खाद्य बड़े श्रम से संग्रह करती हैं उन को आगे आने वाली वर्षा और जाड़े का पूर्व से ही ध्यान रहता है और इस लिये वे ग्रीष्म में अटूट परिश्रम से

अपना खाद्य संचय करके अपने बिलों में भर लेती हैं और ग्रीष्म ऋतु में ही इतना खाद्य एकत्र कर रखती हैं कि वह उन को जाड़े और वर्षा को पर्य्याप्त होता है।

३-वे जब चलती हैं, तो नियम से सीधी पङ्क्ति बाँध कर चलती हैं; कोई भी पङ्क्ति से इधर उधर विचलित नहीं होती। मीठे से उन को बड़ा प्रेम है। उन की घ्राण शक्ति ऐसी प्रबल होती है कि मीठा कहीं क्यों न रक्खा हो, वे उस की गन्ध पाकर वहीं पहुंच जाती हैं, यदि कहीं मीठे का ढेर लगा हो तो वे उस को भी थोड़ा २ करके ढो लाती हैं। सच है समुदाय की शक्ति बड़ी बलवती होती है; चिउँटियाँ बिचारी कैसी छोटी होती हैं और इतने बड़े ढेर को समुदाय के बल से ही उठा ले जाती हैं। यदि थोड़ा थोड़ा बाँट कर किया जाय तो कितना ही बड़ा कार्य्य हो, पूरा हो जाता है।

४-चिउँटी के छः टाँगें होती हैं और प्रत्येक टाँग में दो पञ्जे होते हैं। उन्हीं पञ्जों से वह वृक्षों और भित्तियों पर चढ़ जाती है। उस के दो आँखें होती हैं। उस के मुख में तीक्ष्ण छोटे दाँतों वाले दो जबड़े होते हैं। उस के दो लम्बी मूछें और एक डंक होता है।

५—वे अपने रहने के बिल भूमि में वा भित्ति वा शुष्क वृक्षों में बनाती हैं। बिल ऊपर से तो एक छिद्र सा ही दीखता है किन्तु उस के भीतर छोटे २ गृह और मार्ग बने होते हैं। बिल में ही वे अण्डे देती हैं और अण्डों से बच्चे उत्पन्न होते हैं। वे अपने बच्चों की बड़े यत्न से रक्षा करती हैं।

६—बाहर उन को जो खाद्य पड़ा मिलता है, वे उस को अपने बिल में उठा लाती हैं, और वहाँ लाकर सब उस को परस्पर बाँट कर खाती हैं। एक बिल में रहने वाली सब चिउँटियाँ एक दूसरी को पहचानती हैं और आपस में बड़े प्रेम से रहती हैं; शत्रुओं को अपने गृह में नहीं आने देतीं।

चिउँटियों से तुम कई शिक्षा ले सकते हो।

(क) तुम को उन का सा साहसी और उद्योगी बनना चाहिये।

(ख) देखो! वे वर्षा आने से पूर्व कैसा अपना खाद्य संचय कर रखती हैं तुम को भी परीक्षा से बहुत पूर्व अपना पढ़ा हुआ तय्यार कर रखना चाहिये।

(ग) उन की नियम पूर्वक गति से तुम भी नियम में चलना सीखो।

पाठ २१

ग्रीष्म ।

ज्येष्ठ और आषाढ़ के मास ग्रीष्म ऋतु कहलाते हैं। ग्रीष्म में अत्यन्त गरमी पड़ती है। इन दिनों की धूप बड़ी प्रचण्ड और असह्य होती है। पर्वतों से निकलने वाली नदियों को छोड़कर और सब नदी नाले और जलाशय सूख जाते हैं। जंगल में पशु पक्षी प्यास से व्याकुल रहते हैं। इस ऋतु में वायु भी गरम चलती है। मनुष्य एड़ी से चोटी तक स्वेद से नहा जाते हैं।

२—इस ऋतु में दिन बड़े और रात्रि छोटी हो जाती हैं, आलसी मनुष्यों को ग्रीष्म का दिन काटना दूभर हो पड़ता है, किन्तु उद्योगी और कर्मण्य मनुष्य को काम में समय जाता ज्ञात भी नहीं होता। गरमी भी अधिकतर निरुद्यमी और इन्द्रियारामों को ही सताती है। परिश्रमी किसान इन दिनों भी निरन्तर हल जोतने में लगे रहते हैं। कर्त्तव्य के सामने शरीर-कष्ट का ध्यान नहीं रखना चाहिए।

३—बहुत से मनुष्य ग्रीष्म की गरमी से घबरा उठते हैं, किन्तु ग्रीष्म में गरमी की अधिकता का नियम भी ईश्वर ने संसार की भलाई के लिये ही रक्खा है। यदि ग्रीष्म की

गरमी न हो तो वर्षा बिना अन्न कहाँ से उत्पन्न हो ? अन्न बिना मनुष्य कैसे जीवित रहें ?

४—तुम प्रश्न करोगे कि गरमी पड़ने से वर्षा कैसे होती है ? इस का तात्पर्य यह है कि सूर्य के ताप से ही पृथिवी पर के जलों की भाप बनकर आकाश में उड़ती है और इस भाप से ही मेघ बनकर जल बरसाते हैं, यदि जल की भाप बनकर न उड़े तो मेघ कैसे बनें ? और मेघ बिना, वर्षा हो ही नहीं सकती। अब तुम समझ गये होगे कि, वर्षा के लिये प्रचण्ड गरमी की कितनी बड़ी आवश्यकता है; यही कारण है कि जिस वर्ष ग्रीष्म नहीं तपता उस साल वर्षा भी यथोचित नहीं होती। अपने अपने समय पर सब ऋतुओं का होना अच्छा है।

५—ग्रीष्म में नदी में स्नान का बड़ा आनन्द रहता है। कार्य के पश्चात् नदी में निमज्जन से शरीर प्रफुल्लित और चित्त शान्त हो जाता है।

नदी में तैरना भी इस ऋतु में यथेच्छ आ सकता है। तैरने की बड़ी उत्तम कला है। इस से शरीर का व्यायाम भी भली प्रकार हो जाता है और अवसर पड़ने पर चढ़े हुए नदी नद को पार कर जाने का साधन भी मनुष्य को मिल जाता है।

६-ग्रीष्म में ख़रबूज़े, तरबूज़ और ककड़ी की ख़ूब बहार रहती है। आषाढ़ में आमों की फ़सल भी प्रारम्भ हो जाती है। इस ऋतु में तक्र का सेवन अति-हितकर है।

पाठ २२

वर्षा।

१—आया यह अब वर्षा-काल,
जग का हुआ औ[illegible]
नहीं कहीं अब हाहाकार।
गर्मी से न व्यथित संसार॥

२—नहीं लूह अब सन सन चलती।
भूमि आगसी अब नहीं जलती॥
" प्यास प्यास पानी पानी" नर।
चिल्लाते अब नहीं कहीं पर॥

३—अब न कहीं पर उड़ती धूल।
मुरझाते न लता, तरु, मूल॥
रहा न रवि-किरणों का त्रास।
घिरा बादलों से आकाश॥
बरस रहा जल चारों ओर।
मेंडक सुख से करते शोर।

कहीं पपीहा करता रोर ।
कहीं नाचते प्रमुदित मोर ॥
५—पृथ्वी, खेत, बाग बन तरुवर ।
हरे हरे दिखलाते सुंदर ॥
बीर बहूटी की छबि न्यारी ।
आँखों को लगती अति प्यारी ॥
६—झँझा वायु ज़ोर से बहता ।
छिपा बादलों में रवि रहता ।
झड़ी रात दिन की लग जाती, ।
दिन की रजनी हो हो जाती ॥
७—कदम केतकी, फूल फूल अब ।
सौरभ-युत कर देते बन सब ॥
जामुन, निम्बू, पनस, आदि सब ।
धीरे धीरे पकते हैं अब ॥
८—चला रहे हल कहीं किसान ।
कहीं मगन हो बोते धान ॥
कहीं प्रेम से मेंड़ बनाते ।
बैल गाय हैं कहीं चराते ॥
९—मोद-प्रद अतिशय सुख कारी, ।
वर्षा-ऋतु सब को है प्यारी ॥

कृषि प्रधान है देश हमारा ।
हमें इसी से पावस प्यारा ॥
{ श्री पाण्डेय लोचन प्रसाद कृत, सरस्वती पत्रिका प्रयाग से। }

१—हमारे शरीर भोज[illegible] पुष्ट होते हैं। यदि हम को एक दो दिन भी भोजन न मिले, तो हमारा शरीर निर्बल हो जाता है और हम काम करने के योग्य नहीं रहते । जो भोजन हम खाते हैं, वह प्रथम मुख में चबाया जाकर कण्ठ के मार्ग से हमारे उदर में जाता है उदर में जाकर, पक कर, उस का रस बनता है । उदर में जिस स्थान पर भोजन का रस बनता है, उस को **पक्काशय** कहते हैं ।

२—यदि भोजन को, खाते समय, दाँतों से भले प्रकार चबा लिया जाता है, तो पकाशय में जाकर सुगमता से पक कर उस का रस बन जाता है और रस से रुधिर बन कर नाड़ियों द्वारा सारे शरीर में घूमता है । रुधिर से ही हमारे शरीर बढ़ते और परिपुष्ट होते हैं ।

३—किन्तु, जो मनुष्य खाते समय भोजन को भले प्रकार नहीं चबाते और उस को वैसे ही शीघ्र २ निगल जाते

हैं, उन के पक्वाशय में भोजन का रस बनने में बड़ी कठिनता पड़ती है । बिना चबाए भोजन को पक्वाशय यथा-योग्य नहीं पका सकता और उसे पकाने और रस बनाने में उस को अति परिश्रम करना पड़ता है । नित्य प्रति के अति परिश्रम से वह निर्बल हो जाता है और कुछ वर्षों में भोजन के पचाने में असमर्थ हो जाता है । इसी से शीघ्र भोजन करने वाले रोगी और निर्बल बन जाते हैं । **इस लिये शीघ्र भोजन कभी न करना चाहिये, प्रत्युत प्रत्येक ग्रास को कम से कम तीस बार चबा कर निगलना चाहिये ।**

४—जिन गुणों वाला भोजन मनुष्य खाते हैं, उन्हीं गुणों वाला रुधिर बन कर उन के शरीर में घूमता है । कई पदार्थों में ऐसे गुण होते हैं कि उन से बना रुधिर शरीर में अनेक प्रकार के रोग उत्पन्न कर देता है; जैसे लाल मिरच और खटाई आदि खाने से शरीर में फुंसी आदि कई रोग हो जाते हैं । बहुत दिनों के रक्खे हुए खट्टे पदार्थ बुद्धि को बिगाड़ देते हैं, इस लिये मनुष्यों को सदा ऐसे पदार्थ खाने उचित हैं जो शरीर को लाभ-दायक हों ।

परिपक्व फल मनुष्य के लिये सब से अधिक हितकारी हैं । विविध प्रकार के अन्न जैसे गेहूँ, चना, उड़द, चावल आदि भी भोजन के विशेष पदार्थ हैं, दुग्ध, घृत और मिष्टान्न

भी बलकारी और पुष्टि-दायक वस्तु हैं । भोजन करने में निम्न लिखित बातों का भी ध्यान रखना उचित है ।

(क) भोजन शुद्ध और पवित्र होकर अर्थात् हाथ, पैर और मुख धोकर खाना चाहिए ।

(ख) भोजन को शुद्ध और स्वच्छ पात्रों में रख कर खाना उचित है। भोजन परसवाने से पूर्व देख लो कि तुम्हारे सामने के पात्रों में मिट्टी वा जूठ आदि तो नहीं लगी; यदि ऐसा हो तो उन को भोजन परसने से पूर्व ही शुद्ध करलो ।

(ग) भोजन उस समय ही करना उचित है, जब अच्छी भूख लगी हो । बिना भूख भोजन करने से रोग होजाते हैं । भूख से अधिक कभी नहीं खाना चाहिए। यह भी शरीर को रोगी बना देता है ।

(घ) भोजन के समय अपने मन में कोई चिन्ता न रक्खो, प्रसन्नता से खाया हुआ भोजन शरीर को बड़ा लाभ-दायक होता है ।

(ङ) जो भोजन मिले उसी पर सन्तोष करो । प्रति-दिन स्वादु भोजन की ही अभिलाषा मत रक्खो । भोजन करने का अभिप्राय पेट भरना है, चटोरपन नहीं ।

(च) भोजन पाने पर ईश्वर का धन्यवाद करो; उसी की कृपा से हम को नित्य-प्रति भोजन मिलता है ।

(छ) भोजन करते समय वार्त्तालाप न करो; भोजन में ही ध्यान रक्खो ।

(ज) मुख में का पहला ग्रास जब चबा कर निगल लो, तब दूसरा ग्रास मुख में ले जाओ ।

(झ) भोजन में दोष न निकालो । जो वस्तु तुम को रुचिकर न हो न खाओ ।

(ञ) जो मनुष्य शिष्टाचार-पूर्वक भोजन नहीं करते, वे अशिष्ट समझे जाते हैं और उन को कोई पंक्ति में बैठाना नहीं चाहता ।

पाठ २४

हाथी ।

१—स्थल-चारी जन्तुओं में, हाथी सब से अधिक डील डौल का जन्तु है। उस की आकृति किसी जन्तु से नहीं मिलती । उस का सिर दो गोल पिण्डों से मिल कर बना होता है । उस के कान छाज से चौड़े होते हैं । आँखें

छोटी २ होती हैं, इस लिये वह दूर तक नहीं देख सक्ता; परन्तु उस की श्रवण शक्ति बड़ी प्रबल होती है; वह दूर से कैसे ही धीमे शब्द की आहट सुन लेता है।

२—उस की नाक की आकृति बड़ी विलक्षण होती है। देखो, वह बढ़ कर पैरों तक लटकी हुई है और हाथ और नाक दोनों का काम देती है। उस को शुण्ड वा सूँड कहते हैं। उसे संस्कृत में 'हस्त' कहते हैं, हाथी हाथ का काम उसी से लेता है, इसी लिए हाथी का नाम "हस्ती" है। सूँड़ के अग्र भाग पर एक अंगुली सी होती है; उस से वह सूक्ष्म से सूक्ष्म वस्तु को भी उठा लेता है। सूँड से पकड़ कर ही वह भोजन अपने मुख में लेजाता है और जल भी उसी से पान करता है; वह उस में भर कर एक मशक जल अपने मुख में ले जाता है।

३—हाथी वन्य पशु है; वह सघन जङ्गलों में रहता है। हाथी झुण्ड बांध कर वनों में फिरा करते हैं और वृक्षों की शाखा और पत्र खाकर अपना निर्वाह करते हैं। वनों में चरने के लिए वे दूर दूर निकल जाते हैं, परन्तु बड़े प्रबन्ध और सावधानी से चलते हैं; एक वृद्ध हाथी को आगे कर लेते हैं, यदि आगे मार्ग में कोई भय होता है, तो वह सब को बतला देता है और सारा झुण्ड भाग जाता है।

४– मनुष्य हाथियों को अपने काम के लिए बन से पकड़ लाते हैं। हाथी को पकड़ने की अनेक रीतियाँ हैं। उन में से इस समय अधिक प्रचलित एक रीति यह है कि पालतू हाथियों के झुण्ड बन में ले जाए जाते हैं। उन पर मोटे मोटे रस्सों के फन्दे लिए हुए मनुष्य, जो फन्देत कहलाते हैं, चढ़े रहते हैं, अन्य मनुष्य, वन्य हाथी को बन्दूक़ आदि से खदेड़ कर पालतू हाथियों के निकट ले आते हैं। पालतू हाथी उस को चारों ओर से घेर लेते हैं और उन पर चढ़े मनुष्य रस्सों के फन्दे वन्य हाथी की ग्रीवा और पैरों पर फेंक कर उस को फान्द लेते हैं। फान्द के रस्सों के दूसरे सिरे पालतू हाथियों की गरदनों में बन्धे रहते हैं और वे उस फन्दे हुए हाथी को चारों ओर से घेरे हुए अपने पड़ाव पर ले जाते हैं।

५– वहाँ लाकर उस को किसी भारी और दृढ़ वृक्ष से बाँध कर डाल देते हैं। कुछ दिनों वह इसी अवस्था में पड़ा रहता है; फिर विवश होकर मनुष्यों से हिल जाता है और उस से सवारी आदि का कार्य लेने लगते हैं। शनैः शनैः वह अपने रक्षक का बड़ा आज्ञाकारी बन जाता है; फिर उस के न रस्सा बाँधने की आवश्यकता रहती है, न ऊँट की भांति उस के नकेल ही डालनी पड़ती है।

देखो ! इतने बड़े डील डौल के जन्तु को उस से कितना छोटा मनुष्य बुद्धि के बल से अपने वश में कर लेता है। बुद्धि का बल शरीर के बल से कहीं बड़ा है।

६— हाथी मनुष्य के अनेक काम करता है। राजा महाराजा उस पर सवारी करते हैं, उस पर बैठ कर वे सिंह का आखेट करते हैं। सिंह इतने ऊँचे पर बैठे हुए उन पर आक्रमण नहीं कर सकता। हाथी बड़े २ बोझे भी ढोता है और तोप खींचता है।

७— यह बड़ा बुद्धिमान् जन्तु है; इस की बुद्धिमत्ता की बहुत सी कथाएँ प्रचालित हैं। उन में से एक अगले पाठ में लिखी जाती है।

पाठ २५

हाथी और दर्ज़ी।

१— हाथी स्नान से बड़ा प्रेम रखता है। एक हाथी एक दर्ज़ी की दूकान के आगे से नित्य प्रति स्नान करने जाया करता था। वह दर्ज़ी उस की सूँड में प्रति दिन रोटी के टुकड़े दे दिया करता था। हाथी को ऐसा अभ्यास पड़ गया था, कि वह जब उस की दूकान के सामने आता, तब ही

उस दूकान की खिड़की में रोटी के लिये अपनी सूँड अन्दर ले जाता था।

२—एक दिन, जब उस ने खिड़की में सूँड डाली, दर्ज़ी ने उस की सूँड में रोटी देने के स्थान में एक सूई चुभो दी। हाथी बेचारा उस समय तो सूई चुभने की पीड़ा को चुपचाप सहन करके चला गया, किन्तु उस दर्ज़ी की दुष्टता को वह भूला नहीं।

३—नदी से स्नान कर के वापस आते समय हाथी अपनी सूँड में कीचड़ मिला जल भरे लाया और दर्ज़ी की दूकान के सामने पहुँच कर और अपनी सूँड पूर्व-वत् खिड़की में ले जाकर, उस ने वह सारा मैला जल वस्त्रों पर उलट दिया। दर्ज़ी उस समय बड़े बड़े बहु-मूल्य वस्त्र सी रहा था; वे सब कीचड़ से लतपत हो गये।

४—तब दर्ज़ी अपने किये पर बहुत पछताया, किन्तु अब उस के पछताने से क्या हो सकता था। यदि वह उस निरपराधी हाथी को पूर्व ही न सताता, तो उस को इतनी हानि न उठानी पड़ती।

इस कथा से हम को भी यही शिक्षा मिलती है कि यदि हम किसी का अपकार करेंगे तो वह भी

उस के बदले में हम को हानि पहुँचाएगा, जैसा कि उस हाथी ने दर्ज़ी को हानि पहुँचाई; इस लिये हमें किसी को सताना नहीं चाहिए।

पाठ २६

विक्रमादित्य और उन का संवत्।

१—महाराजा विक्रमादित्य भारतवर्ष के बड़े प्रसिद्ध और धर्मात्मा राजा हुए हैं। यद्यपि उन को हुए उन्नीस सौ पैंसठ १९६५ वर्ष बीत गये, तथापि उन का नाम अब भी घर घर सुनाई देता है। उज्जयिनी नगरी उन की राज-धानी थी। उज्जयिनी मालवा देश में अब भी प्रसिद्ध नगरी है, पर अब उस की महाराजा विक्रमादित्य के समय की सी शोभा नहीं रही है।

२—महाराज विक्रम बड़े न्यायी और परोपकारी थे। वे अपनी प्रजा को पुत्रों के समान पालते थे। वे प्रजा से जो कर लेते थे, उस को प्रजा की भलाई में ही व्यय करते थे; उस को अपने सुख भोग में कभी नहीं लगाते थे। इतने बड़े महाराज होने पर भी वे नित्य चटाई पर सोते थे और शिप्रा नदी से अपने हाथ से जल का तूँबा भर लाते थे।

अधिक सुख भोग की सामग्री वे कभी अपने समीप नहीं रखते थे ।

३—वे महापराक्रमी और वीर थे। उन के समय में भारतवर्ष पर पश्चिम की ओर से शक जाति ने आक्रमण किया था। उस को उन्हों ने विजय कर के भारतवर्ष से निकाल दिया था। तब से उन का नाम **शकारि** भी प्रसिद्ध है।

४—उन के समय में विद्या का बड़ा प्रचार हुआ; इस का कारण यह है कि वे विद्वानों का बड़ा सत्कार करते थे और अपने यहाँ उन को आश्रय देते थे। उन्हों ने अपने यहाँ नौ विद्वानों की एक सभा बना रक्खी थी और उस का नाम **नवरत्न** प्रसिद्ध किया था, उसी नवरत्न सभा के महाकवि **श्री कालिदास** भी एक रत्न थे। उन्हों ने **रघुवंश** आदि उत्तम काव्य बनाये हैं। संस्कृत का कोई ही ऐसा विद्यार्थी होगा जिस ने कालिदास के रघुवंश को न पढ़ा हो।

५—महाराजा विक्रमादित्य का संवत् अब तक प्रचलित है। घटनाओं का समय जानने के लिये संवत् लिखा जाता है, जैसे हम को यह जानना है कि गुरुकुल कब स्थापित हुआ। गुरुकुल के स्थापन होने के समय को किसी पूर्व काल

की बड़ी घटना से गिन कर हम यह ठीक जान सकते हैं। जब गुरुकुल स्थापित हुआ था, तब महाराजा विक्रमादित्य को राज-सिंहासन पर बैठे १९५८ वर्ष हुए थे, वा इस को इस प्रकार भी कहते हैं कि उस समय १९५८ विक्रमीय संवत् था और अब इस समय १९६५ विक्रमीय संवत् है। सं० १९५८ से १९६५ तक सात वर्ष होते हैं, इस से ज्ञात हुआ कि गुरुकुल को स्थापित हुए सात वर्ष हुए।

६—इस प्रकार हम नित्य होने वाली घटनाओं पर तिथि सहित संवत् लिखते रहते हैं और जब कभी हम को किसी घटना का समय जानना होता है, तब ही उस घटना का लिखा हुआ संवत् देख कर और उस से वर्तमान संवत् तक गिन कर जान लेते हैं कि, उस को इतना समय हुआ।

७—संवत् किसी बड़ी घटना, जैसे किसी महात्मा के जन्म-दिन वा राज्याभिषेक से चलाया जाता है। विक्रमी संवत् महाराजा विक्रमादित्य के राज्याभिषेक से माना जाता है; वह चैत्र के शुक्ल पक्ष की प्रतिपदा को प्रारम्भ होता है। इस देश में ईसा आदि और कई महानुभावों के भी संवत् प्रचलित हैं; परन्तु आर्य्यों में आर्य्य राजा महाराज-विक्रम के ही संवत् का व्यवहार होता है।

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पाठ २७

रेलगाड़ी ।

१—रेलगाड़ी को तुम ने कई बार देखा होगा; तुम ने यह भी देखा होगा कि उस में सब से आगे इंजन लगा रहता है । इंजन ही सब गाड़ियों को खींच कर ले जाता है । इंजन में यह शक्ति कहाँ से आती है ? यह सब भाप की शक्ति है । इंजन के एक भाग में तीव्र अग्नि जलती रहती है और उस के ऊपर एक स्थान में बहुत सा जल भरा रहता है । अग्नि पर जल के खौलने से भाप उत्पन्न होती है—इसी भाप के बल से इंजन सारी ट्रेन को खींच कर ले जाता है ।

२—एक इंजन में चालीस से पचास तक माल और मुसाफ़िरों से भरी हुई गाड़ियाँ खींच कर ले जाने की शक्ति होती है, किन्तु इतने भारी बोझ को खींचने में रेल की सड़क भी एक कारण होती है । रेल की सड़क पर लोहे की पटरियाँ बिछी रहती हैं, इन्हीं को रेल कहते हैं । रेलों पर ही इंजन और गाड़ियों के पहिये चलते हैं और थोड़े धक्के से दूर तक लुढ़के चले जाते हैं । रेलों पर चलने से पहिये भूमि में नहीं धँसते; सामान्य भूमि पर इंजन इतने बोझ को कदापि नहीं खींच सकता ।

३—इंजन आगे पीछे दोनों ओर चल सकता है और जहाँ आवश्यकता हो ठहराया जा सकता है। इंजन के भीतर बहुत से यन्त्र लगे रहते हैं, वे ही भाप की शक्ति से घूमकर इंजन को चलाते हैं। उस में एक यन्त्र इस प्रकार का होता है कि उस से जल, अग्नि और भाप की शक्ति की न्यूनाधिकता का ज्ञान होता रहता है और आवश्यकतानुसार उस में जल आदि और भर दिया जाता है।

४—रेल से संसार को बड़े लाभ पहुँचे हैं। पूर्व समय में, जहाँ जाने में महीने लगते थे, वहाँ अब रेल से घंटों में पहुँच जाते हैं। रेल से माल भेजने में बड़ा सुभीता हो गया है। इस से व्यापार में बड़ी उन्नति हुई है। जिन स्थानों की वस्तुएँ मार्ग की कठिनता और अधिक समय लगने के कारण दूसरे स्थानों में नहीं पहुँच सकती थीं, वे रेल की सहायता से सारे संसार में फैल गई हैं। यदि किसी फ़सल में कहीं अन्न उत्पन्न न हो, तो अब अन्न के अभाव से वहाँ की प्रजा भूखी नहीं मरती, रेल द्वारा लाखों मन अन्न दूसरे देशों से वहाँ पहुँच जाता है।

—:o:—

पाठ २७

शरद्—हेमन्त और शिशिर ।

१—वर्षा के पश्चात् जाड़ा आता है। आश्विन से लेकर फाल्गुन तक जाड़ा होता है। प्रथम आश्विन और कार्त्तिक के महिनों में थोड़ा शीत होता है और इन दो मासों को शरद् ऋतु कहते हैं। शरद् ऋतु में नदी घट जाती हैं, आकाश स्वच्छ और निर्मल हो जाता है; अतएव चन्द्र और ताराओं का प्रकाश इस ऋतु में अति उज्ज्वल और शोभनीय होता है। जलाशयों में खिले हुए कमलों की अपार शोभा होती है। फूले हुए कास का दृश्य बड़ा मनोहर होता है। इन्हीं दिनों ईख पक कर अपनी बहार दिखाती है।

२—शरद् के अनन्तर मार्गशीर्ष और पौष के मास हेमन्त ऋतु कहलाते हैं। हेमन्त में भरपूर शीत पड़ता है। सायं प्रातः शीत की अधिकता से हाथ पैर सुकड़े जाते हैं। आलसी मनुष्य लिहाफ़ बिछौने से हाथ पाँव बाहर नहीं निकालना चाहते, किन्तु कर्म्म-परायण पुरुषों को इस समय भी अपने कर्तव्य का ध्यान रहता है।

३—हेमन्त के पश्चात् माघ और फाल्गुन मासों में शिशिर-ऋतु होती है। इस ऋतु में भी पूर्ण शीत पड़ता है, हेमन्त

और शिशिर के लक्षणों में कोई विशेष भेद नहीं हैं। इन दोनों ऋतुओं में हिम अत्याधिकता से पड़ता है। ऊँचे २ पर्वत हिम से ढक जाते हैं। वे धूप के समय दूर से बड़े सुन्दर देख पड़ते हैं। शीत प्रधान देशों में नदियाँ हिम की अधिकता से जम जाती हैं और ऐसी कठोर हो जाती हैं कि मनुष्य उन पर चलने फिरने लगते हैं। उन देशों के कुंज आदि कई पक्षी उन दिनों शीत की आधिकता के कारण उन देशों को छोड़ कर भारतवर्ष आदि उष्ण देशों में चले आते हैं और हेमन्त और शिशिर भर यहाँ रह कर वसन्त में फिर अपने देश को लौट जाते हैं।

४—हेमन्त और शिशिर में दिन छोटे और रात्रि बड़ी होजाती हैं। इस लिये दिन में थोड़ा समय मिलने के कारण बहुत से काम रात्रि में किये जाते हैं। विद्यार्थी रात्रि में अपने पाठ स्मरण करते हैं। विद्यानुरागी विद्यार्थी रात्रि में परिश्रम करके अपना पहला पढ़ा हुआ भी स्मरण कर लेते हैं।

५—इन ऋतुओं में नारंगियों की बहार आती है। सेब, अंगूर और बादाम आदि भी इन्हीं दिनों काबुल से आते हैं। शीत में बादामों का सेवन शरीर को लाभदायक है। शीत काल में वैसे भी मनुष्यों का स्वास्थ्य अच्छा रहता है।

पाठ २८

शरद् ।

[१]

देखो कैसी शरद् सुहाई,
अद्‌भुत सुन्दरता ले आई ।
किस को नहीं लुभाती है यह,
किस का चित न चुराती है यह ।

[२]

देखो तो खेतों के भीतर,
मक्का, ज्वार, बाजरा, सुन्दर ।
पका शालि लहराता शुभतर,
कृषक-हृदय में मोद रहा भर ॥

[३]

आती उड़ उड़ वहाँ शुकाली,
जिस की शोभा निपट निराली ।
उसे उड़ाते दे दे ताली,
जो जन करते हैं रखवाली ।

[४]

शोभा देते खूब सरोवर,
सरसीरुह खिल रहे मनोहर ।
गूँज रहे मतवाले मधुकर,
श्रवण-सुखद रव हंस रहे कर ।

[५]

हुआ कास विकसित अति सुन्दर,
सारस बोल रहे हैं सुख-कर ।
मृदु मृदु कूज रहे पक्षी-वर,
उतरे हैं खञ्जन पृथ्वी पर ।

[६]

हुआ प्रकृति का निर्मल जीवन,
स्वच्छ गम्य सब पन्थ गये बन ।
विमल व्योम में छिटके तारे,
प्रमुदित हुए ज्योतिषी सारे ।

[७]

निर्मल चन्द्र-चन्द्रिका छाई,
जो चकोर-लोचन-सुखदायी ।
करता सिन्धु गर्जना भारी,
छटा ज्वार-भाटे की न्यारी ।

[८]

अच्छे, स्वच्छ, सर्वदा रहना,
कल कल व्यर्थ कदापि न करना ।
जड़ उखाड़ना नहीं किसी की,
यही नीति अब हुई नदी की ।

{ पं० श्रीगिरिधर शर्म्मा कृत }
{ सरस्वती पत्रिका, प्रयाग से }

पाठ ३०

व्यवसाय ।

१—प्रत्येक मनुष्य को जीवन निर्वाह के लिये भोजन, वस्त्र और गृह की आवश्यकता पड़ती है; परन्तु भोजन और वस्त्र आदि बनाने में बहुत से काम करने पड़ते हैं; जैसे भोजन के लिये अन्न उत्पन्न करना पड़ता है। अन्न भूमि को जोतने बोने से उत्पन्न होता है। भूमि को जोतने बोने के लिये औज़ार चाहिएँ। फिर औज़ार बनाने वालों की आवश्यकता है; ऐसे ही बस्त्रों के लिये बस्त्र बुनने और सीने वालों की आवश्यकता पड़ती है।

२—क्या तुम्हारी समझ में ये सब काम कोई एक मनुष्य कर सकता है। यदि कोई एक मनुष्य इन सब कामों

को स्वयं ही करने लगे, तो उस से अपने जीवन भर में एक काम भी पूरा न हो सकेगा, और उस को भोजन वस्त्र भी मिलना असम्भव हो जावेगा। इस लिये मनुष्यों ने इन कामों को आपस में बाँट लिया है और वे एक एक काम को बड़ी सुगमता से करते हैं। उसी एक एक काम को दूसरों के लिये करके और उन से उस का वेतन लेकर वे अपना निर्वाह भी करते हैं।

३—कोई मनुष्य लोहे के औज़ार ही बनाता है और वह **लोहार** कहलाता है। कोई लकड़ी का ही काम करता है; वह **बढ़ी** कहलाता है। जो भूमि को जोत बो कर अन्न उत्पन्न करते हैं, वे **किसान** कहलाते हैं। ऐसे ही कपड़ा बुनने वाले **जुलाहे**, कपड़ा सीने वाले **दर्ज़ी**, चर्म का कार्य्य करने वाले **चमार**, गृह बनाने वाले **राज** और रोगियों की चिकित्सा करने वाले **वैद्य** कहलाते हैं।

४—इसी प्रकार संसार में सैकड़ों कार्य्य हैं, जो मनुष्य अपनी योग्यता और रुचि के अनुसार करने लगे हैं। ये सब पृथक् २ व्यवसाय कहलाते हैं। पृथक २ व्यवसायों से संसार का काम सुख-पूर्वक चला जाता है। जो मनुष्य जिस काम को स्वयं नहीं कर सकता, वह उस को उस के व्यवसायी से

वेतन देकर सुगमता से करा लेता है । इस प्रकार स्वयं अपने व्यवसाय में उस को कुछ कष्ट नहीं पड़ता ।

५—पृथक् पृथक् व्यवसाय करने वालों को अपने अपने व्यवसाय में उन्नति करने का भी अच्छा अवसर मिलता है, और वे अपने २ व्यवसाय में विविध प्रकार के आविष्कार और उन्नति करते रहते हैं ।

६—हमारे वेद शास्त्रों में मुख्य मुख्य विविध व्यवसायों के अनुसार ही मनुष्य चार वर्णों में बाँटे गये हैं । जो यज्ञ कराते, विद्या पढ़ाते और उपदेश देते हैं, वे **ब्राह्मण** कहलाते हैं । राज्य करने वाले और दुष्टों से संसार की रक्षा करने वाले **क्षत्रिय** होते हैं । खेती और व्यापार आदि विविध प्रकार के व्यवसाय करने वाले **वैश्य** वर्ण में गिने जाते हैं और सेवा करने वाले **शूद्र** कहाते हैं । **हम को सब व्यवसायियों का आदर करना चाहिए ।**

पाठ ३१

धातु ।

१—धातु स्वच्छ और चमकीले होते हैं, किन्तु उन में दर्पण की न्याईं वारपार नहीं देख सकते, अर्थात् धातु

पारदर्शी नहीं होते। वे अन्य वस्तुओं से भारी होते हैं, उन में एक गुण यह होता है कि, वे कूटने से बढ़ कर चौड़े और चपटे हो जाते हैं; मिट्टी वा पाषाण के समान वे कूटने से टुकड़े २ नहीं हो जाते। वे अग्नि में पिघल जाते हैं; लकड़ी के सदृश जलते नहीं। उन का तार खींचो, तो बहुत लम्बा तार खिंच सक्ता है।

धातु पृथिवी में से खोद कर निकाले जाते हैं। जिस स्थान से वे खोदे जाते हैं उन को खान वा खानि कहते हैं। खनि से निकलने के कारण धातुओं को खनिज भी कहते हैं। धातु बहुत प्रकार के होते हैं। उन में से कई बहुत कम मिलते हैं; इस लिये वे बहुमूल्य होते हैं। मुख्य २ धातुओं के नाम और उन का संक्षिप्त वर्णन नीचे लिखा जाता है।

१—सोना वा सुवर्ण सब धातुओं में बहुमूल्य और शोभनीय होता है। उस का वर्ण गहरा पीला और चमकीला होता है। सुवर्ण के तुल्य भारी प्रायः और कोई वस्तु नहीं है। वह जल से भी उन्नीस गुणा भारी होता है। उस के सावरन और मुहर और अनेक आभूषण बनाए जाते हैं। सुवर्ण को कूट कर उस के पत्र ऐसे पतले बनजाते हैं कि वे फूँक मारने से उड़ जाते हैं; वे औषध के काम में आते हैं।

४–चाँदी वा रजत श्वेत और चमकीली होती है। उस के रुपये, अठन्नी, चोअन्नी और दोअन्नी बनती हैं। चान्दी बहुत दूर से आती है।

५–ताम्र वा ताँबा लाल होता है। उस के पैसे और पात्र बनते हैं

६–पीतल मिश्रित धातु है। वह ताँबा और जस्त के मेल से बनता है और उस का वर्ण सुवर्ण के सदृश पीत और चमकीला होता है। पीतल के पात्र और घंटे बनाये जाते हैं

७–लोह वा लोहा बड़ा दृढ़ और उपयोगी धातु है। वह देखने में सुन्दर नहीं होता, किन्तु वह सब धातुओं से अधिक हमारे काम आता है। तुम अपने गृह में जो सामग्री देखते हो, वे अधिकांश लोहे के यन्त्रों से बनीं हैं। फावड़े, हलों के अग्र भाग, चाकू, छुरे और अन्य सब यन्त्र लोहे के ही बनते हैं। लोहे को बार बार अग्नि में तपा कर फ़ौलाद बनाया जाता है। खड्ग आदि शस्त्र फ़ौलाद के ही बनते हैं।

८–सीसा नरम और भारी होता है। वह अग्नि में सुगमता से पिघल जाता है। बन्दूक़ की गोली और छर्रे सीसे के ही बनते हैं।

९—संसार में और भी अनेक धातु हैं। जब किसी धातु की कोई वस्तु बनानी होती है, उस को प्रचण्ड अग्नि में तपा कर लाल कर लेते हैं। लाल हो कर वह कोमल हो जाती है और उस अवस्था में उस को पीट कर उस की जैसी चाहें वैसी आकृति बना लेते हैं।

१०—दूसरी क्रिया यह भी की जाती है कि, धातु को पिघला कर तरल कर लेते हैं, और उस को जैसे साँचे में चाहें ढाल लेते हैं; शीतल हो कर वह उसी आकृति में दृढ़ हो जाती है।

पाठ

बलदेव की वीरता।

१—बलदेव की अवस्था केवल पन्द्रह वर्ष की थी। उस का घर यमुना के तट पर एक ग्राम में था। एक दिन सायंकाल को वह यमुना के पुल पर भ्रमण करने गया। वहाँ जाकर उस ने देखा कि पुल पर से जाते हुए एक सवार को उस के घोड़े ने यमुना में गिरा दिया। बलदेव कुछ २ तैरना जानता था।

२—सवार को गिरता देखते ही उस ने अपना भ्रमण का आनन्द त्याग दिया और बहुत से मनुष्यों क देखते २, जो तट पर खड़े उस सवार का डूबने से बचाने का उपाय सोच रहे थे, वह वस्त्रों समत यमुना में कूद पड़ा और तेर कर डूबते हुए सवार को तट पर खींच लाया।

३—कुछ दिनों पश्चात् एक कन्या स्नान करती हुई उसी नदी की लहरों में बह चली। बलदेव उस को देखते ही भागा और तैर कर उस को भी नदी में से बाहर निकाल लाया। कन्या के माता पिता और वह कन्या स्वयं बलदेव के आयु भर कृतज्ञ रहे और उसका यश सारे संसार में फैल गया।

४—बलदेव का चित्त स्वयं सन्तोष और शान्ति से भरपूर था कि उस ने दो मनुष्यों की जान बचाई। बलदेव की कथा से हम को भी कई शिक्षा मिलती हैं, प्रथम यह कि मनुष्य की जीवन-रक्षा के आगे हम को अपने जीवन को भी तुच्छ समझना चाहिए, यदि बलदेव अपने जीवन को तुच्छ समझ कर नदी में न कूद पड़ता तो वह दो जीवों की रक्षा करने में कदापि समर्थ न होता। दूसरी शिक्षा यह मिलती है कि ऐसे समय में सोच विचार में पड़ कर कार्य्य अपने हाथ से निकल जाता है। यदि सोच विचार में पड़ कर, बलदेव नदी में

कूदने में तनिक भी विलम्ब कर देता तो सवार और कन्या दोनों के डूब कर मर जाते और तब उस का उद्योग निष्फल हो जाता ।

८—तीसरी शिक्षा यह मिलती है कि दूसरों का उपकार कर के चित्त में अकथनीय सन्तोष और हर्ष होता है जैसा कि बलदेव का चित्त उस समय हर्ष और सन्तोष से भर गया था, परोपकारी का संसार में यश होता है, इस लिये हम को, जब कभी बन पड़े दुखियों को दुख से बचा कर उन का उपकार करना चाहिए ।

पाठ ३३

पढ़ना लिखना ।

१—पढ़ना लिखना संसार के लिये बड़ा उपयोगी है । लिख कर हम अपने मन के भाव अन्यों पर प्रकट कर सकते हैं और अन्यों के मन के भाव उन का लेख पढ़ कर स्वयं जान सकते हैं । सब बातें हम को सदा स्मरण नहीं रह सकतीं । उन को हम लिख कर रख लेते हैं और जब चाहें उन को पढ़ कर और अपने मन में लाकर उन से अपना काम निकाल लेते हैं । लेख द्वारा हम अपने मन के अभिप्राय

सहस्रों मील दूर बैठे हुए मनुष्यों तक पहुँचा सकते हैं। यदि लेखन क्रिया न होती, तो अपने अभिप्राय कहने के लिये हम को स्वयं उन के निकट उतनी दूर जाना पड़ा करता।

२—लेख द्वारा ही सहस्रों वर्ष पूर्व के विद्वानों की वार्ता हम सुन सकते हैं।

उन की विद्वत्ता और कलाकौशल, उनकी वीरता और उन के हर्ष और विषाद से भरे वृत्तान्त और उन की सुवक्तृता और सदुपदेश उन की लिखित पुस्तकों से हम को वैसे ही सुनाई देते हैं जैसे कि उन के मुख से सुनते। इस लिये प्रत्येक मनुष्य को लिखना पढ़ना अवश्य सीखना चाहिए।

३—पढ़ते समय उच्चारण पर पूरा ध्यान रखना चाहिए। न अति शीघ्र ही पढ़ना चाहिए, न रुक रुक कर पढ़ना उचित है। न बहुत चिल्ला कर पाठ करना चाहिए, न इतना धीरे ही कि सुनने वाले को कठिनता से सुनाई देवे।

स, श, ष और न, ण, का उच्चारण विस्पष्ट करना चाहिए। ह्रस्व, दीर्घ, अनुस्वार और चन्द्र विन्दु को देख कर उन का शुद्ध उच्चारण करना चाहिए।

४—कोई २ विद्यार्थी गाते हुए से पढ़ते हैं, कोई ऐसे पढ़ते हैं जैसे पढ़ते हुए दाँतों में कोई वस्तु पकड़ रक्खी हो, कोई पीछे के शब्द पर बल दे कर पढ़ते हैं, ये सब बड़े दोष हैं। इन

से सदा बचना चाहिए और इस प्रकार पढ़ना चाहिए कि सुनने वाले को एक एक शब्द विस्पष्ट सुनाई देवे।

५—पाठ में जहाँ २ विराम चिह्न लिखे मिलें, वहाँ वहाँ नियमानुसार रुकना चाहिए। जहाँ अल्प विराम (,) मिले वहाँ थोड़ा ठहरना चाहिए. जहाँ अर्द्ध विराम (;) हो वहाँ उस से अधिक और जहाँ पूर्ण विराम (।) हो, वहाँ और भी अधिक ठहरना उचित है। जहाँ प्रश्न पूछा जाता है वहाँ यह (?) प्रश्न-सूचक चिह्न बनाया जाता है और जहाँ कोई आश्चर्य्य की बात होती है वहाँ यह (!) आश्चर्य्यसूचक चिह्न लिखा जाता है। सम्बोधन सूचक चिन्ह भी इसी प्रकार (!) होता है। इन चिन्हों पर भी रुकने का नियम है।

६—लिखने में सब को और विशेष कर विद्यार्थियों को ऐसे अक्षर बनाने चाहिएं कि, उन को पढ़ने वाला सुगमता से पढ़ सके। बहुधा विद्यार्थी शीघ्र लेखक बनने की धुन में अपना हाथ पहले ही विगाड़ लेते हैं और फिर वड़ी अवस्था में उन का लेख नहीं सुधरता,। विद्यार्थियों को उचित है कि वे सुडौल अक्षर बनाने का अभ्यास करें; यदि उन का हाथ अब सुडौल अक्षरों पर जम गया, तो वे वड़े होकर सुलेखक और शीघ्र लेखक दोनों बन सकेंगे। अच्छी लिपि मनोहर पुष्पलता के समान सब के मन भाती है।

पाठ ३४

यवक्रीत की कथा ।

१—भरद्वाज मुनि गङ्गा तट पर वास करते थे । उन के पुत्र यवक्रीत थे; यवक्रीत ने वेद जानने के लिये घोर तप किया । एक दिन राजा इन्द्र ने आन कर उस से पूछा कि तुम किस कारण तप कर रहे हो । यवक्रीत ने उत्तर दिया "महाराज ! मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि मुझ को बिना पढ़े ही सब वेद आजावें; इसी लिये मैं यह घोर तप कर रहा हूँ कि ईश्वर मेरे तप से ही प्रसन्न होकर मेरे हृदय में सारी विद्याओं का ज्ञान दे देवे; क्योंकि वेदों को गुरु मुख से पढ़ने में बहुत समय लगता है" ।

२—यह सुन कर राजा इन्द्र ने कहा—"यह बात असम्भव है, गुरु से पढ़े बिना कोई विद्या नहीं आ सकती । जाओ गुरु से पढ़ो "इतना कह कर इन्द्र चले गये ।

परन्तु यवक्रीत ने तप करना नहीं छोड़ा ।

३— इस प्रकार उस को फिर तप करते हुए देख, इन्द्र ने पुनः आकर उस को रोका और कहा- "तुम अपने गुरु से वेद पढ़ो, तब उन का अर्थ जान सकोगे" । यवक्रीत ने उत्तर दिया " हम अपने तप से ईश्वर को प्रसन्न करके बिना

पढ़े ही वेद जानना चाहते हैं; यदि ईश्वर ने हमारे हृदय में वैसे ही वेद का ज्ञान न दिया तो हम तप करते करते यहीं मर जायँगे" ।

४- राजा इन्द्र ने देखा कि यह समझाने से नहीं समझता, अब कुछ और उपाय करना चाहिए। इन्द्र तपस्वी का वेष बना कर, गङ्गा के किनारे, जहाँ यवक्रीत नित्य स्नान करने आता था, जा बैठे। जब यवक्रीत स्नान करने आता था, इन्द्र उस के सामने रेणुका की मुट्ठी भर भर कर गङ्गा में डालने लगते। उस को इन्द्र का यह व्यापार देख कर बड़ा आश्चर्य्य हुआ और उस ने इन्द्र से पूछा "ब्राह्मण ! तुम यह क्या करते हो" ?

५--इन्द्र ने कहा, "इस नदी के पारजाने में पथिकों को कष्ट होता है, इस लिये इस को रेणुका से आटना चाहता हूँ; तब यहाँ से आने जाने वालों के लिये अच्छा मार्ग बन जायगा" । यवक्रीत ने कहा- "तुम गङ्गा के वेग को मुट्ठी २ रेणुका से कैसे रोक सकोगे ? इस न होने योग्य कार्य्य को छोड़ कर होने योग्य कार्य्य में लगो" ।

६- इन्द्र ने उत्तर दिया, "जिस प्रकार तुम ने न होने योग्य कार्य्य को आरम्भ किया है, उसी प्रकार हम ने भी

यह कार्य्य प्रारम्भ किया है"। यह सुन कर यवक्रीत ने कहा "कि जैसा तुम्हारा काम निरर्थक है यदि वैसा ही मेरा काम भी निरर्थक है तो मैं आज से अपनी शक्ति के अनुसार कार्य्य करूंगा"। इन्द्र ने कहा "तुम अब अपने गुरु से जा कर विद्या पढ़ो तुम बड़े विद्वान् पण्डित हो जाओगे" यवक्रीत ने वैसा ही किया और वह बड़ा पण्डित बन गया।

७– इस कथा से हम को यही शिक्षा मिलती है कि **विद्या बिना पढ़े और परिश्रम किये किसी को नहीं आ सक्ती और वह धीरे धीरे ही आती है। एक क्षण में वह किसी को नहीं प्राप्त होती।**

(बाल भारत से, परिवर्त्तित)

पाठ ३९

वस्त्र ।

१– पशुओं के शरीर पर बाल होते हैं। पक्षियों के शरीर पर भी रोम और पंख होते हैं। मछलियों के देह पर शल्क होते हैं। इस लिये उन सब को अपने शरीरों को शीत और उष्णता से बचाने के लिये किन्हीं वस्त्रों की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

२– किन्तु मनुष्य के शरीर पर केवल कोमल और पतली त्वचा ही है। इस लिये उस को अपने शरीर को शीत और उष्णता से बचाने के लिये वस्त्रों की आवश्यकता पड़ती है; मनुष्य को ईश्वर ने बुद्धि भी दी है और वह अपनी बुद्धि के बल से अपने शरीर को ढाँपने के उपाय निकाल सक्ता है। वह भिन्न देशों की शीत उष्णता के अनुसार, जहाँ २ वह रहता है अपने वस्त्र भी बना सकता है।

३–उष्ण देशों के मनुष्य रुई के वस्त्र पहनते हैं, रुई के वस्त्र हल्के और ठंडे होते हैं और उष्ण देशों में उपयोगी होते हैं। रुई का वर्णन तुम पीछे पढ़ आये हो।

४–शीत-प्राय देशों के वासी ऊन के वस्त्र धारण करते हैं। ऊन भेड़ों और बकरियों के बालों से बनती हैं। उन के शरीर पर के बाल जब बढ़ जाते हैं, और ग्रीष्म ऋतु आती है, तब कतर लिये जाते हैं और उन को तुम कात कर उन के वस्त्र बुन लिये जाते हैं। ऊन के कम्बल, फ़लालेन, क़ालीन आदि बहुत प्रकार के वस्त्र बनते हैं। काशमीर की बकरियों की ऊन बड़ी बहुमूल्य होती है, उस के शाल बनते हैं।

५–अत्यधिक शीतल देशों में रोम सहित चर्म्म के वस्त्र

भी पहने जाते हैं। भारतवर्ष में भी हरिन और सिंह के चर्म्म बिछाने के काम में लाये जाते हैं।

६—कई वृक्षों की छाल के तन्तुओं के भी वस्त्र बनाये जाते हैं; ये सन सनी और जूट हैं। ये वृक्ष हरे ही उखाड़ कर कुछ समय तक जल में डाले रक्खे जाते हैं। जब वे सड़ने लगते हैं, वहाँ से निकाल लिये जाते और उन के प्रकाण्डों से छाल पृथक् करली जाती है। फिर छाल को कूट कर उस में से तन्तु निकाले जाते हैं और उन तन्तुओं के वस्त्र बुने जाते हैं।

७—वस्त्र बहुत प्रकार के बनाये जाते हैं। भिन्न २ देशों में भिन्न २ प्रकार के वस्त्र पहने जाने की प्रथा है। इस समय भारतवर्ष में कुरता, कोट, धोती, पाजामा, पगड़ी, टोपी आदि वस्त्र धारण किये जाते हैं। देशों का पहरावा बदलता रहता है। पहले इस देश में और ही प्रकार का पहरावा था। स्वदेश की प्रचलित प्रथा के अनुसार ही मनुष्यों को वस्त्र पहनने पड़ते हैं। किन्तु वस्त्रों में अधिक टीप टाप और शोभा पर बहुत व्यय करना व्यर्थ है। शरीर की रक्षा ही वस्त्र-धारण का मुख्यप्रयोजन होना चाहिए; इस लिये वस्त्रों के नवीन नवीन प्रकार निकालने से कोई लाभ नहीं है।

—:०:—

पाठ ३६

शरीर-रक्षा।

[१]

शरीर ही के हित काम सारे।
शरीर ही से सुख हैं हमारे॥
आत्मा नहीं धार्य बिना शरीर।
जैसे बिना पिञ्जर बद्धकीर॥

[२]

शरीर से पुण्य, परोपकार।
शरीर ही है गुण का अगार॥
शरीर ही है सुर-लोक द्वार।
शरीर ही से सुविचार सार॥

[३]

शरीर ही से पुरुषार्थ चार।
शरीर की है महिमा अपार॥
शरीर-रक्षा पर ध्यान दीजै।
शरीर सेवा सब छोड़ कीजै॥

{ पं० महाबीरप्रसादजी द्विवेदीकृत,
सरस्वती से }

पाठ ३७

शौच ।

१—यदि हम आरोग्य रहना चाहते हैं, तो हम को शुचि और पवित्र रहना चाहिए। शौच से पूरा लाभ तब ही हो सकता है, जब कि हमारे शरीर, वस्त्र, और निवास स्थान शुचि रहें।

२—शरीर को स्वस्थ रखने के लिये उस को दिन में कई बार धोना उचित है। शरीर के छिद्रों में से पसीने से मैल निकलता रहता है। यदि शरीर को धोया न जाय तो उस के छिद्र मैल से बन्द हो कर उस में कई प्रकार के रोग हो जाते हैं और रोगी रहने से मनुष्य का जीवन शीघ्र ही समाप्त हो जाता है। इस लिये सब मनुष्यों को प्रतिदिन शीत ऋतु में एक बार और ग्रीष्म में दो बार शरीर को भली प्रकार, मल कर स्नान अवश्य करना उचित है।

३—वस्त्रों को बदलते रहना चाहिए; विशेषतः जो वस्त्र नीचे पहने जाते हैं, और शरीर से प्रतिक्षण सटे रहते हैं, वे स्वेद लग कर अधिक मलिन होते हैं, उन को शीघ्र २ बदलते रहना चाहिए। वस्त्र ऋतु के अनुकूल होने चाहिएँ।

शीत काल में गरम वस्त्रों की आवश्यकता है, जिन से शरीर शीत से सुरक्षित रहे। ग्रीष्म काल में हल्के वस्त्र होने चाहिएँ।

४—हमारे निवास भवन भी स्वच्छ रहने चाहिएँ। यदि उन में कूड़ा करकट वा धूल पड़ी रहेगी तो उन में छोटे २ कीट रहने लगेंगे और उन से हमारे शरीर में रोग हो जावेंगे। शयन-भवन को विशेषतः स्वच्छ रखना उचित है। उसमें वायु आने जाने के लिये वातायन अवश्य होने चाहिएँ।

५—स्वास्थ्य रक्षा के अतिरिक्त एक और कारण से भी हम को स्वच्छ रहने की आवश्यकता है। यदि हम स्वच्छ न रहेंगे, तो मनुष्य हम को अपने समीप बैठाना तक नहीं चाहेंगे और हम से घृणा करने लगेंगे; इस लिये हमारे सब अङ्ग—मुख, दाँत, हाथ, पाँव—और वस्त्र सदैव शुचि रहने आवश्यक हैं।

पाठ ३८

पितृ-भक्ति।

१—एक बार एक नगर में आग लग गई और बहुत से गृह जलने लगे। सब मनुष्य अपनी २ सम्पत्ति के बचाने में लगे हुए थे।

२-उन में से एक गृह में दो भ्राता रहते थे; उन के माता और पिता दोनों अतिवृद्ध थे। उन में अग्नि लगे हुए गृह में से भाग कर अपने प्राण बचाने की सामर्थ्य नहीं थी। चारों ओर अग्नि से प्रज्वालित घर में घिरे हुए वे भय से कांप रहे थे।

३-उन के पुत्र उन दोनों भ्राताओं ने आपस में कहा, "जिन माता पिता से हम उत्पन्न हुए हैं उन से अधिक मूल्यवान् वस्तु हमारे लिये क्या हो सकती है? आओ! और सब सम्पत्ति को छोड़ कर पहले उन की ही रक्षा करें" यह कह कर वे दोनों जलती अग्नि में धँस पड़े और उन में से एक ने अपने पिता को और दूसरे ने माता को अपने कन्धे पर बिठला कर उस अग्नि-मय गृह से निकाल लिया और इस प्रकार उन दोनों की जीवन रक्षा की।

४-उन की सब सम्पत्ति भस्म होगई, पर वे अपना कर्तव्य पालन करके अर्थात् अपने माता पिता की रक्षा करके बड़े प्रसन्न थे। उन के कार्य्य की सब ने प्रशंसा की और उन का यश ग्राम ग्राम में फैल गया।

पाठ ३९

खेती ।

१—भूमि को जोत बोकर उस में विविध प्रकार के अन्न और शाक आदि उत्पन्न करने के व्यवसाय को खेती वा कृषि कहते हैं और खेती करने वाले किसान कहलाते हैं।

२—अन्न से ही सारे मनुष्य और पशु आदि जीवों की प्राण-यात्रा होती है; इस लिये खेती बड़ा उत्तम व्यवसाय है और उस से किसान अपना और सारे जगत् का पेट भरता है। खेती से धन-लाभ भी बहुत होता है। एक अन्न के दाने से बहुत से दाने उत्पन्न होते हैं और फ़सल आने पर किसान का घर अन्न से भर जाता है। उस समय अन्य व्यवसायी भी किसान की ओर ही आशा लगाये रहते हैं।

३—खेती से बहुत प्रकार के पौधे उत्पन्न किये जाते हैं। उन में से कई के बीज काम में लाये जाते हैं—**गेहूँ, चना, धान, बाजरा** और **उड़द** आदि खाने के काम में आते हैं; **तिल, लाही** और **सरसों** आदि का तैल निकाला जाता है। ईख से मिठाइयाँ बनती हैं और **कपास** के वस्त्र बनते हैं; ईख और कपास का वर्णन तुम पीछे पढ़ आये हो।

४—अन्य पौधों के भी विविध भाग हमारे काम में

आते हैं। **गाजर, मूली, शलजम, आलू,** और **कान्दू** आदि की जड़ों को उबाल कर खाते हैं। **मेथी** और **पालक** आदि के पत्तों को पका कर रोटी के साथ खाते हैं। **गोभी** और **कचनाल** के फूल पका कर खाये जाते हैं। ये सब **शाक** कहलाते हैं और रोटी के साथ खाये जाते हैं।

५—कई पौधे रङ्ग के काम में आते हैं। **कुसुम्भ** के फूल से सुर्ख़ रङ्ग और **नील** के पत्तों से नीला रङ्ग बनता है।

६—खेती में जितने पौधे बोये जाते हैं, वे ईश्वर ने अपनी **स्वाभाविक अवस्था** में ही उत्पन्न किये थे अर्थात् वे जङ्गलों में स्वयं उगते थे। मनुष्य अपने परिश्रम और युक्ति से उन को अच्छी भूमि में बोकर और उन की जल-सिञ्चन आदि से रक्षा करके उन में बड़े फल और बीज उत्पन्न करने लगे हैं। क्योंकि यह नियम है कि जिस पौधे के अच्छे २ बीज लेकर उन को अच्छी और पोली भूमि में बोया जाता है और पौधों को जल आदि देकर उस की भली प्रकार रक्षा की जाती है, वह भले प्रकार फलता फूलता है और उस के फल बड़े होते जाते हैं और इस के विपरीत करने से वे छोटे पड़ते जाते हैं।

७—जो आलू आज कल इतने बड़े होते हैं, वे अपनी स्वाभाविक अवस्था में छोटी २ गोलियों की बराबर होते

थे और यदि मनुष्य अब भी उन के उपजाने में परिश्रम न करें, तो वे फिर उसी छोटी अवस्था को पहुँच जावें। इस लिये खेती में स्वाभाविक उगने वाले पौधों को ही विशेष उपायों से बोया जाता है।

८—ये उपाय भूमि को जोत कर और खाद डाल कर पौधों को बढ़ाने वाली बनाना, अच्छे बीजों को बोना, उन से उगे पौधों को जल से सींचना और हानिकारक पशुओं आदि से उन की रक्षा आदि हैं। इन्हीं उपायों अर्थात् भूमि, खाद, बीज, पौधे की रक्षा आदि के ज्ञान को कृषि विद्या कहते हैं। तुम इस विद्या का अधिक वर्णन आगे पढ़ोगे।

९.—खेती से ही हम को भोजन, वस्त्र आदि मिलते हैं। किन्तु आज कल भारतवर्ष में इस व्यवसाय को मूर्ख मनुष्य करते हैं; इस लिए उस से जैसा लाभ होना चाहिए वैसा लाभ नहीं होता। यदि विद्वान् लोग खेती का व्यवसाय करें तो अधिक लाभ हो। योरुप आदि देशों के विद्वानों ने खेती में बड़ी उन्नति की है। हमारे देश वासी भी उन देशों में जाकर उन से कृषि विद्या सीख कर वैसी ही उन्नति कर सकते हैं।

पाठ ४०

वृक्ष के भाग ।

१—वृक्ष का सब से सुन्दर और मनोहर भाग पुष्प होता है । वसन्त ऋतु में पुष्प-बाटिका में भ्रमण कैसा मनोरञ्जक होता है । चित्र विचित्र वर्णों की सुन्दर पुष्पावली आँखों को कैसा आनन्द देती है और वायु में कैसी मीठी सुगन्ध भर देती है । सुगन्ध-मय गुलाब और सुन्दर कमल की शोभा अपार है ।

२—झाड़ियों में जो जङ्गली पुष्प खिलते हैं वा जो हमारे खेतों की शोभा बढ़ाते हैं, उन का दृश्य भी बड़ा मनोहर होता है ।

३—छोटे बालक और बालिका पुष्पों से बड़ा ही प्रेम रखते हैं, किन्तु वे कई प्रकार के फलों जैसे आम, नारङ्गी, अनार, और अमरूद आदि को भी बहुत चाहते हैं ।

४—फल पहले पुष्प वा कलिका के बीच में बहुत छोटे आकार में विद्यमान् रहता है । उन में वह आलपीन के सिरे से अधिक बड़ा नहीं होता । वृक्ष की जड़ वा मूल के द्वारा पृथिवी में से रस ऊपर को खिँच कर और शाखाओं और पत्रों में होकर, छोटे फलों में पहुँचता रहता है और उस से

ही वे शनैः शनैः बढ़ते और फूलते रहते हैं। इसी प्रकार बढ़ते २ वे पूरे फल बन कर पक जाते हैं और हमारे खाने के योग्य हो जाते हैं।

५— कच्चे फलों के खाने से रोग उत्पन्न होते हैं, इस लिये कच्चे फल कभी न खाने चाहिएँ।

फलों के छिलके कई वर्ण के होते हैं; कतिपय देखने में बड़े सुन्दर होते हैं।

६—सब फलों में एक वा अधिक बीज होते हैं। कई फलों के बीज उन के बीच में होते हैं, जैसे कि आम और लिची में होते हैं। कई लोबिया और उड़द के समान फली में होते हैं। कई बीज अख़रोट और बादाम आदि फल के समान काम में आते हैं; उन के ऊपर दृढ़ छिलका होता है और उन की गिरी निकाल कर खाई जाती है।

७—यदि बीज को भूमि में दबा दिया जावे तो वह उग आता है। भूमि की नमी से बीज फूल जाता है; फूल कर उस के ऊपर का छिलका फट कर खिल जाता है और उस में से एक अंकुर निकल आता है। उस अंकुर में से दो पल्लव निकलते हैं; एक नीचे की ओर बढ़ता है और वृक्ष का मूल बन जाता है, दूसरा ऊपर को बढ़ कर प्रकाण्ड (तना) बन जाता है और ऊँचा होकर उस में

से शाखाएँ निकल कर चारों ओर फैलती हैं । शाखाओं में पत्र, पुष्प और फल लगते हैं ।

८–इस प्रकार वृक्ष के मूल, प्रकाण्ड, शाखा, पत्र, पुष्प फल ये छ भाग होते हैं जो भाग भूमि के अन्दर रहता है, वह मूल कहलाता है । मूल में सूत केसे तन्तु होते हैं; वे भूमि में से जल में घुला हुआ वृक्ष का खाद्य ऊपर खींच कर और वृक्ष के सब भागों में पहुँचा कर उस को बढ़ाते हैं । मूल वृक्ष के मुख का काम देता है । खाद्य और जल के बिना वृक्ष जीवित नहीं रह सकता । मूल ही उस को भूमि में खड़ा रखता है ।

९–मूल से ऊपर का दृढ़ और प्रायः गोलाकार भाग प्रकाण्ड कहलाता है । प्रकाण्ड के ऊपरले अग्र भाग में शाखा निकलती हैं । मोटी २ शाखा वृक्ष के स्कन्ध कहलाती हैं : प्रकाण्ड और शाखाओं में हो कर ही वृक्ष का पतला खाद्य उस के सारे भागों में पहुँचता है । किन्हीं वृक्षों के मूल से कई प्रकाण्ड निकलते हैं; वे प्रायः कोमल होते हैं और शाखा सी ही प्रतीत होती हैं ।

१०–शाखाओं पर पत्र लगते हैं । पत्रों से वृक्षों में वायु पहुँचता है । वृक्ष भी पत्रों में वैसे ही श्वास लेते हैं जैसे हम नासिका द्वारा लेते हैं । वृक्षों में हमारे शरीरों के

सदृश बहुत से अङ्ग होते हैं और उन के शरीरों में भी वे सारी क्रियाएँ होती हैं, जो अन्य जन्तुओं के बढ़ने और उत्पन्न होने में होती हैं; अन्तर केवल इतना ही है कि वे चल फिर और सोच नहीं सकते। वे और जन्तुओं के विपरीत पृथिवी को भेद कर उस में से उगते हैं, इस लिये पृथिवी से उगने वाली सारी वनस्पतियाँ उद्भिज कहलाती हैं।

पाठ ४१

कीलोत्पाटी वानर।

१–कई बालक ऐसे मूर्ख होते हैं कि जिन वस्तुओं को उन को छूना नहीं चाहिए, वे उन को भी निष्प्रयोजन छूआ करते हैं। कई वस्तुएँ बार बार हाथ लगाने से बिगड़ जाती हैं, वा उन के छूने वालों को ही उन से हानि पहुँच जाती है। एक मूर्ख वानर की कथा से यह बात तुम भली प्रकार समझ सकोगे।

२–एक स्थान पर बढ़ी तख्ते चीर रहे थे। जब दो तख्तों को चीरते हैं, तो उन के बीच में आरा जाने के स्थान के लिये एक कील ठोंक देते हैं। इसी प्रकार वे बढ़ी

आधे तख्ते चीर कर और उन में कील लगी छोड़ कर मध्यान्ह को अपने घर भोजन करने चले गये।

३—उन के पीछे वहाँ एक बन्दरों की टोली आई और वे उन तख्तों पर कूद फाँद मचाने लगे। एक मूर्ख वानर उन चिरे तख्तों के वीच में पैर लटका कर बैठ गया और उसने उस कील को, जो दोनों तख्तों को पृथक २ किये हुऐ थी अपने हाथों से ऊपर को खींच लिया।

४—कील को ऊपर खींचते ही दोनों तख्ते आपस में मिल गये और उनके बीच में लटके हुए उस वानर के दोनों पैर उन में ज़ोर से भिच कर कुचले गये। वह बहुतेरा चिल्लाया, किन्तु उसके पैरों को शीघ्र आ कर कोई भी न बचा सका और उसको अपने किये का फल भोगना पड़ा।

५—इस कथा से तुम को भी शिक्षा लेनी चाहिये कि बिना जानी हुई किसी कला वा किसी भी वस्तु को स्पर्श न करो; अन्यथा तुम्हारी भी उस वानर वाली दशा होगी, अर्थात् तुम्हारे शरीर को उस से हानि पहुँच जावेगी; क्योंकि तुम उस को खोलना बन्द करना वा उसको उपयोग में लाना नहीं जानते।

६—यदि तुम उसका उपयोग भी जानते हो तो भी तुम्हारे बार २ स्पर्श करने से वह वस्तु बिगड़ जावेगी और तुम उसके बिगाड़ने के अपराधी बनोगे ; इस लिये किसी भी वस्तु को निष्प्रयोजन कभी मत स्पर्श करो ।

पाठ ४२

ग्राम और नगर ।

१— तुम व्यवसाय के पाठ में पीछे पढ़ आये हो कि मनुष्य के विविध प्रकार के व्यवसाय करने से संसार का काम चलता है । एक व्यवसायी को दूसरे व्यवसायी की आवश्यकता रहती है; जैसे एक किसान को खेती करने के लिये **बढ़ई, लोहार, चमार, और कुम्हार, आदि** कई व्यवसायियों की आवश्यकता पड़ती है

२-अब यदि ये व्यवसायी एक दूसरे से दूर दूर स्थानों पर निवास करें तो मनुष्यों को अपना काम चलाने में बड़ी कठिनता पड़े । जब किसी व्यवसायी की आवश्यकता हुआ करे तो दूर स्थान पर उस के पास जाना पड़ा करे और इस प्रकार दूर आने जाने में बहुतसा समय और परिश्रम व्यर्थ नष्ट हुआ करे । इस आपत्ति से बचने के लिये अनेक प्रकार के

व्यवसायी कहीं एक स्थान पर अपने घर बना कर अपने कुटुम्ब सहित रहने लगते हैं। और उनका यह एकत्र निवासस्थान ग्राम कहलाता है।

३-इस प्रकार पृथ्वी पर पृथक् २ बहुत से ग्राम बस गये हैं और एक दूसरे का अन्तर जानने के लिये उनके पृथक् नाम रख लिये गये हैं जैसे श्यामपुर, काङ्गड़ी और जगजीतपुर आदि। ग्रामों से बाहर वा एक ग्राम से दूसरे ग्राम तक जो भूमि पड़ी रहती है, उसको किसान जोत बो कर उसमें खेती करते हैं और अन्न उत्पन्न करके अपना और अन्य ग्राम वालों का पेट भरते हैं। ग्रामों में अधिकतर किसान और मज़दूर ही बसते हैं।

४-एक ग्राम से दूसरे ग्राम को आने जाने के लिये मार्ग बने रहते हैं। जो मार्ग मिट्टी और कङ्कर कूट कर चौड़े और ऊँचे बनाये जाते हैं वे **सड़क** वा **राज-पथ** कहलाते हैं। यदि सड़क के बीच में कोई नदी आपड़ती है, तो उस को, इस प्रकार पाट कर, उस के ऊपर से सड़क ले जाते हैं, कि नदी पटे हुए स्थान के नीचे से बहती रहती है और ऊपर सड़क चलती रहती है यह स्थान **सेतु** वा **पुल** कहलाता है।

५-जिस ग्राम में पाँच सहस्र से अधिक मनुष्य निवास

करते हैं वह **क़सबा** कहलाता है । क़सबे में विविध प्रकार की वस्तु बेचने के लिये मनुष्य आमने सामने सीधी पंक्तियों में दूकानें बना लेते हैं किसी दूकान पर **मिष्टान्न**, किसी पर कपड़ा, किसी पर अन्न और किसी पर पात्र बिकते हैं; इन दूकान वालों को क्रमशः **हलवाई**, **बज़ाज़**, **बणिक्** और **कसेरा** कहते हैं । सब दूकानों का समुदाय **बाज़ार** कहलाता है । क़सबे में बाज़ार के अतिरिक्त **डाकघर**, **पाठशाला** और हिन्दुओं के **शिवालय** और मुसल्मानों की **मसजिदें** होती हैं कनखल हरद्वार आदि कसबे ही कहलाते हैं ।

६—जहाँ क़सबे से भी अधिक जन-समुदाय रहता है, वह स्थान **नगर** वा **शहर** कहलाता है । नगरों में बड़े २ बाज़ार होते हैं वहाँ विविध कला कौशल के कार्य्यालय होते हैं । कहीं कपड़ा बुना जाता है; कहीं काग़ज़ बनता है और कहीं आटा पीसा जाता है । नगरों में सब वस्तुएँ मोल मिल सकती हैं । ग्राम वाले अन्न और घृत दुग्ध आदि जो उन के ख़र्च से बचता है, नगर में लेजाकर बेच आते हैं और वहाँ से वस्त्र आदि अपनी आवश्यकता की वस्तुएँ क्रय कर लाते हैं ।

७—नगरों में अधिक समुदाय के मल-मूत्र के त्याग और

श्वास लेने से वहाँ का वायु गन्दा हो जाता है। अधिक समुदाय में बुरे भले सब प्रकार के मनुष्य रहते हैं। ग्राम का जल वायु शुद्ध रहता है और वहाँ भीड़ कम होने के कारण एकान्त भी रहता है; इस लिये ग्राम का निवास अच्छा होता है।

पाठ ४३

शहर और गाँव ॥

[१]

शहर गाँव से बोला भाई।
मुझ को तुझ पर मिली बड़ाई ॥
मुझ से सब को बहुत नफ़ा है।
तुझ से तो हर शख़्श ख़फ़ा है ॥

[२]

मैं आराम बहुत देता हूँ।
काम बहुत से मैं करता हूँ ॥
अच्छे अच्छे माल बना कर।
रख देता हूँ सजा सजा कर ॥

[३]

मैं पूरी, पकवान मिठाई ।
देता हूँ सब बनी बनाई ॥
बिसकुट, रोटी, नानखताई ।
मक्खन, रबड़ी दूध, मलाई ॥

[४]

और बहुत से उमदा खाने ।
सब को देता हूँ मन माने ॥
रात बिरात किसी दम आवे ।
थका मुसाफ़िर खाना पावे ॥

[५]

टिक रहने के बहुत ठिकाने ।
अच्छे बने मुसाफ़िर-ख़ाने ॥
जो कुछ चाहें सब मिलता है ।
मुरझाया दिल भी खिलता है ॥

[६]

थान, रेशमी, ऊनी, सूती ।
अच्छी भड़क बड़ी मज़बूती ॥
ख़ासा, मलमल, नैनू, लट्ठा ।
मख़मल, साटन, गोटा, पट्ठा ॥

[७]

लोई, धुस्सा, शाल, दुशाला ।
मिलै एक से एक निराला ॥
मोती, मूँगा, चाँदी, सोना ।
ज़ेवर बरतन और खिलौना ॥

[८]

तेरा भी हूँ बहुत सहारा ।
मुझ से तेरा बड़ा गुज़ारा ॥
लेकर पैदावारी तेरी ।
देता हूँ दौलत बहुतेरी ॥

[९]

गाँव हँसा सुन कर ये बातें ।
कहा, जानता हूँ सब घातें ॥
जो अहसान जताते हो तुम ।
बातें बड़ी बनाते हो तुम ॥

[१०]

अपने गुण सब गाते हो तुम ।
सब्ज़ बाग़ दिखलाते हो तुम ॥
सब को ख़ूब लुभाते हो तुम ।
खोटी चाल चलाते हो तुम ॥

[११]

ऐसी चाट लगाते हो तुम ।
ऐसे ठाठ बनाते हो तुम ॥
पहले जी बहलाते हो तुम ।
पीछे ख़ूब रुलाते हो तुम ॥

[१२]

जो मीठी बातों में आवे ।
पीछे सिर धुन कर पछतावे ॥
मैं अपने घर ही में ख़ुश था ।
तुम ने मुझ को किया निकम्मा ॥

[१३]

अब तुम मेरी सुनो कहानी ।
हुई बड़ी मुझ से नादानी ॥
जो मैं पास तुम्हारे आया ।
अपना सारा भरम गँवाया ॥

[१४]

सारे दुख, तकलीफ़ें सारी ।
मिलीं मुझे तुम से कर यारी ॥
पहले दुनियाँ में मैं ही था ।
कोई दुख उस वक्त़ नहीं था ॥

[१५]

खुली, साफ़ बेरोग हवा में ।
जो गुण है, वह नहीं दवा में ॥
पहले तुम थे कहाँ ? बताओ ।
कौन काम था रुका ? जताओ ॥

[१६]

किस को क्या तकलीफ़ रही थी ।
किस को क्या उस वक्त कमी थी ॥
खुली हवा में रहते थे सब ।
खाते, पीते, सोते थे सब ॥

[१७]

सब चंगे थे; रोग नहीं था ।
जूड़ी, प्लेग, बुख़ार नहीं था ॥
सादा खाना सब खाते थे ।
पच जाता था; सुख पाते थे ॥

[१८]

दूध, दही की कमी नहीं थी ।
गाय भैंस की क्या गिनती थी ॥
तुमने जो अब चाट लगाई ।
उस ने बीमारी फैलाई ॥

[१९]

तब वैदों की चाह नहीं थी ।
रोग न थे परवाह नहीं थी ॥
जड़, फल, फूल राह में चुन कर ।
भर लेते थे पेट मुसाफ़िर ॥

[२०]

अब भी मेरा हाल वही है ।
सीधी सादी चाल वही है ॥
तुम से क्या आराम किसी को ।
दुख ही दुख है सब के जी को ॥

[२१]

जो सुख मैं सब को देता हूँ ।
उस का बदला कब लेता हूँ ॥
मुझ में है आराम अनूठा ।
मुझ से ख़फ़ा रहे वह झूठा ॥

[२२]

सब सामान जो तू रखता है ।
मेरा पैदा किया हुआ है ॥
मेरी ही मेहनत का फल है ।
जिस से तुझ को इतना बल है ॥

[२३]

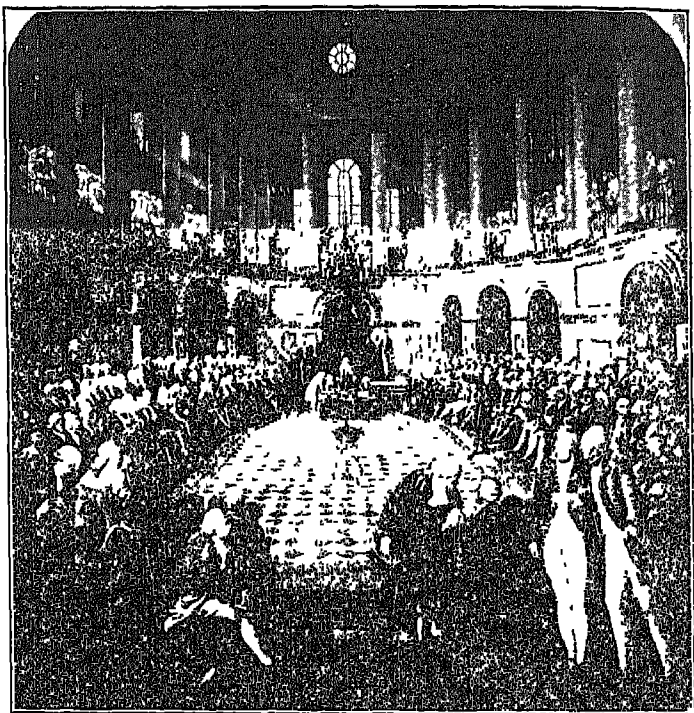
ग़ौर करो तो मुझ को जानो ।
दिल में सोचो तो पहचानो ॥
अपने मुँह से सभी बड़े हैं ।
तुम से मिल लाखों बिगड़े हैं ।

{ पं० महावीरप्रसादजी द्विवेदी कृत, सरस्वती पत्रिका, प्रयाग से । }

॥ इति ॥

गुरुकुल ग्रन्थावलिः ।

IRISH DEMANDS AND THE FITZWILLIAM EPISODE

The Irish did not long remain content with the concessions secured by Grattan in 1782 In 1789 the French Revolution began, and spread its doctrines of liberty, equality, and political freedom over western Europe In 1791 Wolfe Tone founded

THE LAST GREAT PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND ELECTED 1790

the "Society of United Irishmen," which demanded Catholic emancipation and political freedom for Ireland The Society included both Catholics and Protestants It was much more extreme in its demands and doctrines than Grattan, who had no sympathy with democratic ideals, but it sought at first to obtain its ends by orderly and constitutional means Pitt, who in earlier days, had been liberal in his opinions, and had favoured Parliamentary

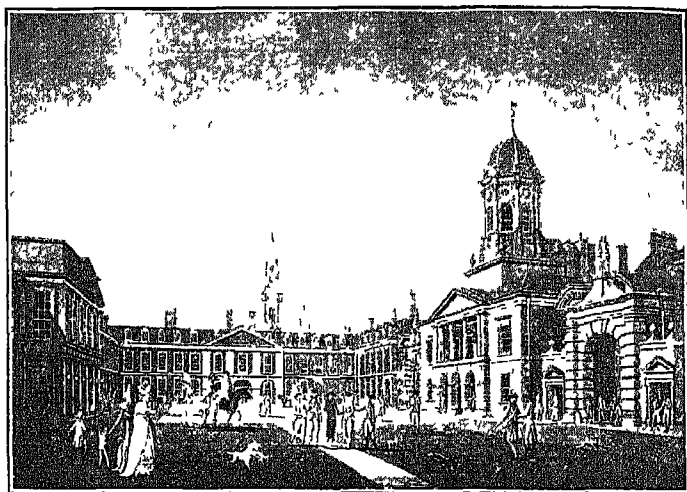
reform and Catholic emancipation, saw the wisdom of making concessions to Ireland, but he proceeded slowly and cautiously. In 1792 marriages between Catholics and Protestants were legalised, and in 1793 votes were given to Irish Catholics. But these measures did not go far enough, for Catholics were still excluded from Parliament.

In dealing with Ireland Pitt had a hard task. George III and the extreme Tories were strongly opposed to Catholic emancipation, and the King still retained a good deal of influence upon English politics. Pitt himself was less eager to secure reforms than he had been in his youth. Moreover, the French Revolution, while it influenced the Irish to demand freedom, had led Pitt and the English Tories to mistrust all demands for reform. On the other hand, the outbreak of war with France, and the possibility of a French landing in Ireland made it wiser to conciliate the Irish. Pitt, torn between the arguments for reaction and reform, adopted no definite policy with regard to Ireland, but gave the Irish reason to hope that his attitude was favourable to their demands by appointing Lord Fitzwilliam as Viceroy (1795).

Lord Fitzwilliam was a Whig who had joined Pitt's party after the outbreak of the French Revolution. He was known to be liberal in his views, and to favour Catholic emancipation. His appointment roused Irish expectations, and, as Viceroy, Fitzwilliam at once began to carry out reforms. Unwisely, he promised to bring before the Irish Parliament a measure for the emancipation of Catholics, although he had not been instructed to do so by the English Government. He also proceeded to reform Irish administration, and this roused the official class against him. But Fitzwilliam's policy was that desired by the majority of Irish people. If it had been carried out, it would have completed the work of Grattan, and might have enabled Ireland to settle down in peace. Unfortunately, Pitt suffered himself to be influenced by the hostility of Irish office-holders and extreme Protestants, and of some of the English Tories. He recalled Fitzwilliam, abandoning his programme.

FRANCE AND INSURRECTION IN IRELAND

The Fitzwilliam episode had disastrous effects. The Irish Catholics had had their hopes raised and then shattered. They began to feel that they would never get their grievances redressed

by constitutional means, and must resort to force As they became more violent, the Protestants, who had less cause for complaint, ceased to support them The religious feud between Catholic and Protestant, that had disappeared during their common struggle for Irish liberty, was revived once more The Society of United Irishmen became a revolutionary organisation and, deserted by the Protestants, became almost completely Catholic It appealed to France for aid, and, in 1796, a fleet under General Hoche was sent to Ireland, but was scattered by a storm in Bantry Bay

Rischgitz

Great Court Yard, Dublin Castle, 1793

The appearance of the French turned the Protestants completely against the Catholics, and made them into firm supporters of the British Government The Orange League was formed by Irish Protestants, and, in Ulster, Catholics and Protestants quarrelled continually, and violence and atrocities occurred on both sides In 1797, the British Government tried to restore order by disarming Ulster Since Protestant troops had to be employed, the carrying out of this measure became a persecution of Catholics It was marked by torture, house-burning, and all kinds of cruelty, which served to inflame Catholic Ireland further

Ireland now seethed with violence, intrigue and strife. The officials of the administration deliberately fostered hostility between Catholics and Protestants. The Catholics felt that they had nothing to hope from England, and wanted revenge for their sufferings in Ulster. Plans for an insurrection of the United Irishmen were discovered, and a revolt, the "Ninety-Eight," broke out in Southern Ireland. The Catholic peasants of Wexford marched upon Dublin, but were crushed at Vinegar Hill (1798). Some French troops were landed, but were too few to effect anything. Irish resistance was crushed, and the Ulster Protestants became more bitterly than ever opposed to their Catholic neighbours.

England was engaged in her long struggle with Revolutionary France, and Ireland, though crushed, was still dangerous as the possible scene of a French invasion. Pitt decided that some settlement of Irish affairs must be made, but to grant Ireland the independence she desired did not seem to him practicable. Tory policy in England was one of reaction, and Pitt and his party had come to be hostile to any demand for reform. The policy of the moment was to crush resistance, so Pitt now dealt with the Irish problem by taking away Irish independence altogether.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNION

Pitt determined to bring about a Parliamentary Union between England and Ireland, and to abolish the Irish Parliament. But, to secure any sort of Irish assent to such a measure, a great deal of political management was necessary. Pitt put the task into the hands of Lord Castlereagh, a young statesman who afterwards distinguished himself as Foreign Secretary at the Congress of Vienna (1814).

Castlereagh had to deal with opposition from the Irish Parliament, and from the Irish Catholics. In the Irish Parliament Grattan once more upheld the cause of Irish independence, but the patriotic spirit of Grattan was not the main obstacle. Many influential people wanted the Parliament kept alive because, as "borough-owners," or in some other capacity, they obtained profit or power from it. The English government did not wish to antagonise these people, for the influential Irish Protestants were its principal supporters in the country. So the

Act of Union was passed through the Irish Parliament by the process of purchasing support for it by bribes and by grants of offices and peerages In the same way Irish borough-owners received compensation for the loss of their profitable control of elections

The Act of Union (1800) abolished the Irish Parliament, and enacted that Ireland should be represented in the British Parliament by twenty-eight peers and one hundred commons Free trade was established between the countries The Irish Catholics accepted the measure on the understanding that representation in Parliament was to be granted to them by a measure of Catholic emancipation But George III flatly refused to assent to this, and he had the support of some of the Tories By an alliance with Fox and the Whigs, Pitt could have forced the measure upon the King, but his dislike of Fox prevailed, and he resigned instead This meant that the Irish Catholics felt themselves cheated, and that the chance of a satisfactory settlement of the Irish question was gone When Pitt returned to office (1804), he did not raise the question of Catholic emancipation again, so the Union was quickly followed by new agitations over Irish affairs

CHAPTER XLII

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN EUROPE

THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE CONGRESS SYSTEM

After the long struggle with Napoleon, the great powers of Europe, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, wanted to keep the peace and to maintain the Vienna settlement. For these objects they were prepared to act together, so they formed the "Quadruple Alliance" (1815). This alliance bound them for the next twenty years to prevent, by force if necessary, any alteration in the European boundaries fixed at Vienna. They also agreed that their representatives should meet periodically to discuss European affairs. This agreement was important. It resulted in international Congresses at which European problems and quarrels could be discussed. Largely owing to the attitude of Great Britain, this Congress system broke down, but it was an interesting experiment in European government. It was not replaced by anything similar until recent years.

The Tsar, Alexander I, did not feel that the Quadruple Alliance and the Congress system satisfied his ideals. Alexander was a sincere Christian of a rather mystical type, and had been shocked by the slaughter of the Napoleonic wars. He argued that public, like private, affairs should be governed by Christian principles, and he formed the "Holy Alliance" of monarchs pledged to peace, justice, and brotherly love. But, in spite of Alexander's sincerity, the Holy Alliance never played an important part in European affairs. Diplomats either laughed at it, like the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, or dismissed it as visionary, like the English foreign secretary, Castlereagh. European liberals placed no faith in the sincerity of the Tsar's motives, and regarded it as a device for upholding despotism and crushing liberty. In international affairs it was overshadowed by the "Quadruple Alliance".

For some years after the formation of the Quadruple Alliance, the great powers controlled international affairs by holding

Congresses at which their representatives discussed European politics and decided European questions. At first the system worked smoothly, and at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) France was invited to join the concert of Europe. It seemed that old rivalries were at an end, and that machinery had been devised for settling European disputes by discussion instead of by war. But the arrangement had, according to modern ideas, certain defects, although its work was in many ways beneficial. It was a government of Europe by the great powers: Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. The smaller powers had no voice in it. Moreover, the despotic rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria considered that it was part of the duty of the Alliance to crush movements for national freedom, or for constitutional government in the European states.

CASTLEREAGH AND NON-INTERVENTION

England would not co-operate in this policy of interference in the affairs of other nations. Castlereagh, the English foreign minister, was an able statesman, though he was no visionary idealist. He had been responsible, during Pitt's first ministry, for the passage of the Act of Union (1800) through the Irish Parliament. Later, as Foreign Secretary, he had played an important part in the Congress of Vienna (1814), where he secured wise and moderate terms for France. In England he was hated for his share in the repressive policy of the Tory government, but his prestige among European diplomats was high.

Castlereagh, Alexander I., and the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich were the most important figures at the European Congresses. Castlereagh had no respect for the Tsar's ideal of international unity and co-operation. He regarded the concert of Europe as a useful device for settling European business, but his policy was guided entirely by English interests and he had no intention of upholding the international system at the expense of Britain. He firmly limited British obligations to those directly undertaken by the Quadruple Alliance: to prevent alteration of European boundaries, or a Bonapartist restoration in France.

Therefore, when revolutionary attempts to establish constitutional government were made in Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, and Naples, Castlereagh declared England's policy

to be one of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations. He himself had no sympathy with liberal ideas, but he argued that England, having altered her own government by the "Glorious Revolution" (1688), could not logically try to

PRINCE DE METTERNICH (1773-1859) *Gooch*

prevent other countries from doing the same thing When, at the Congress of Troppau (1820), the powers decided to crush the revolutions in Piedmont and Naples, Castlereagh would not co-operate

CANNING

Castlereagh had weakened the Congress system by showing that England would have nothing to do with it as a means of international government But in 1822 Castlereagh committed suicide, and his successor as Foreign Secretary, George Canning objected to the whole system of holding periodic meetings of the great powers, at which smaller powers were not represented. He said that it must inevitably lead to interference in the domestic affairs of states and that England could not support such interference This hostile attitude of Canning's broke up the Congress system altogether

Canning's hostility to the Congress system startled the European powers, which had been used to the more cautious diplomacy of Castlereagh But it was natural to Canning to act decisively He had always been a politician of a brilliant and adventurous type, and had, during the Napoleonic war, been responsible for the policy of attacking the French in the Peninsula and for the bombardment of Copenhagen A quarrel with Castlereagh had caused him to resign, and he had spent years out of office Now, during the last few years of his life, he was in control of English foreign policy, and completed Castlereagh's task of laying down the principles which were to guide it during the nineteenth century

SPANISH AFFAIRS AND THE END OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM

The situation in Spain and in Spanish America led Canning to declare his policy During the Napoleonic war the Spanish colonies in South America had begun their struggle for independence Moreover, the Spaniards themselves, during their resistance to Napoleon, had drawn up a democratic institution, the " Constitution of 1812," which formed the basis of their later demands for constitutional government When, after the defeat of Napoleon, the Bourbon kings of Spain were restored, they abolished the Spanish constitution and governed despotically They also attempted to bring the Spanish colonies in South America under their authority once more

When a democratic revolution broke out in Spain the European powers desired to suppress it, and, at the Congress of Verona (1822) discussed the measures that they should take

But Canning was less interested in the European situation than in British trading interests in South America British merchants had received concessions from the governments of the revolted Spanish colonies which might be lost, if Spain re-established her authority Therefore Canning did not wish to see the Spanish government relieved from its European troubles At the Congress of Verona, the English representative, the Duke of Wellington announced that England would on no account intervene in the Peninsula He then withdrew from the Congress altogether

This killed the project for joint intervention by the Allies, but France was authorised to invade Spain to crush the revolution Canning retaliated by recognising the independence of the South American republics It was in connection with this episode that he made his famous, though extravagant statement to the Commons "I resolved that, if France were to have Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old"

Canning followed his action at Verona by refusing to send an English representative to a Congress summoned to meet at St Petersburg (1824) to discuss the Greek revolt At this Congress the other powers disagreed, and nothing was done, so the attempt to govern Europe by Congresses was discontinued Canning defined European policy as "Every nation for itself, and God for us all"

THE EASTERN QUESTION

During the nineteenth century one of the problems that most troubled English statesmen was the "Eastern Question" that is, the policy to be pursued towards the Turkish empire The Turkish capital was Constantinople and, in addition to their Asiatic and African dominions, the Turks were the rulers of the Balkan peninsula, where their government of their Christian subjects was cruel and oppressive The government at Constantinople was weak, and this encouraged the Christian nations of the Balkans to rebel against Turkish rule Revolts in the Balkans were cruelly repressed, but they aroused sympathy in Europe, and, at the end of the eighteenth century, Russia had declared herself the protector of the Christian subjects of the Sultan

The sympathy of the Russians with their fellow-Christians in Turkey was genuine. But it was accompanied by a desire to extend Russian influence over the Balkans and to get possession of Constantinople. Great Britain was opposed to such an extension of Russian power. She feared that the Russians might get control of the land route to India, and might interfere in the trade of the eastern Mediterranean. Britain felt that the Turkish empire must be kept in existence as a check on the Russians. Therefore English policy became a complicated business of trying to prevent misgovernment of the Balkan Christians without permitting the Turkish empire to be broken up.

GREEK INDEPENDENCE

Pitt had declared that it should be English policy to keep Turkey intact, and, during the Napoleonic war, Turk and Englishman had fought together against the French in Syria. But when, in 1820, the Greeks rebelled against Turkish rule, the revolt excited a great deal of sympathy in England. English education was still based upon the classics. The difference between the modern Greeks and their ancestors of classical times was forgotten, and brigand chiefs, fighting in the cause of Greek independence, were credited with the virtues of classical heroes. Englishmen went to fight for the Greek cause, the most famous being Lord Byron, the poet, who died at Missolonghi (1824). These sympathisers with the Greeks denounced the lack of enthusiasm for Greek independence shown by the English government.

During the first years of the struggle Canning's main object was to prevent an attack upon Turkey by Russia. He therefore united with Austria in insisting that Turks and Greeks should be left to fight out their quarrel without interference. But when Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, sent his son, Ibrahim, with an Egyptian army, to help his overlord, the Sultan (1825), it was plain that Russia, now under the rule of the aggressive Nicholas I., would interfere to save the Greeks. Canning hoped to make this interference one of diplomatic pressure, not of open war. So he agreed that England and Russia should unite to persuade the Sultan to grant self-government to Greece.

But negotiations failed, for the Turks were now victorious. In 1827, just after Canning's death, a combined English, French,

and Russian fleet, under Admiral Codrington, was sent to overawe them The Turks fired on the ships, and the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were destroyed in the Battle of Navarino In spite of French and English opposition, Russia then declared war on Turkey When the Russian forces reached Adrianople, the Turks made peace and promised independence to the Greeks by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) After three years of negotiations concerning boundaries and terms, Greece became an independent kingdom with Prince Otto of Bavaria for its king

MEHEMET ALI PASHA, 1769-1849

PALMERSTON AND MEHEMET ALI

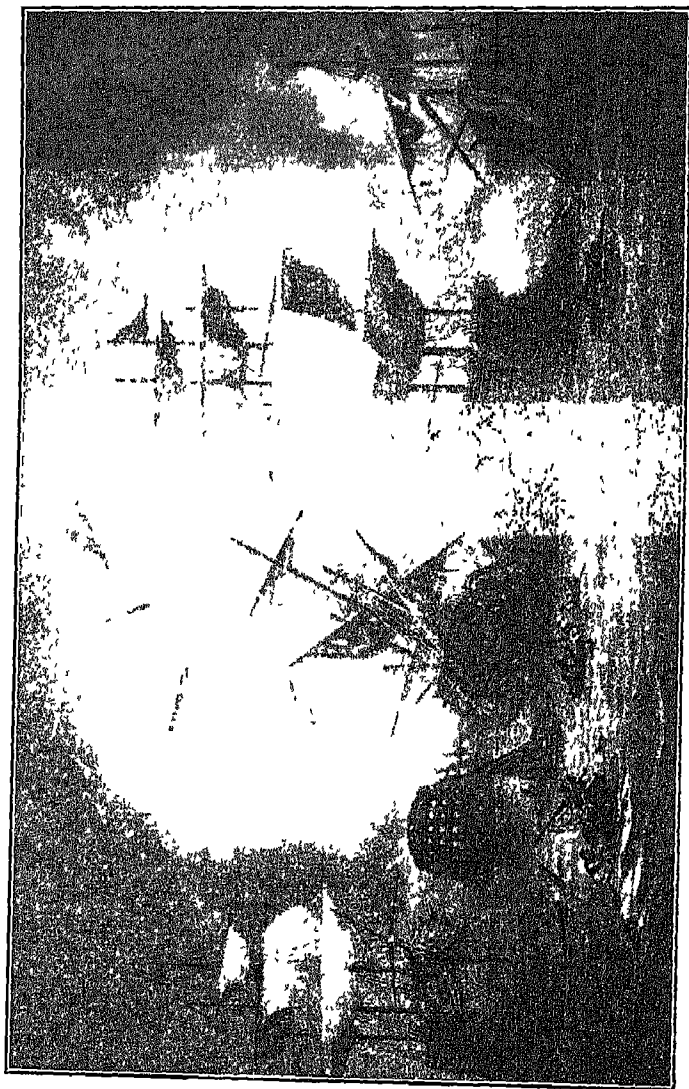
The next danger to Turkey came from Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt Mehemet had received no reward for the help given to Turkey against Greece, and his fleet had been destroyed So he determined to seize Syria, and sent his son, Ibrahim, to conquer it for him Ibrahim conquered Palestine and Syria, and decisively defeated the Turks at Konieh in Asia Minor (1832) The Turkish Sultan, Mahmoud, appealed to Russia for help In the Treaty of Unkier—Skelessi (1833), it was agreed, that, in return for Russian protection, the Sultan should close the Dardanelles to all foreign warships, except

those of Russia. A Russian fleet was sent to save Constantinople, and peace was made by the grant of Syria to Mehemet Ali.

The Treaty of Unkiar—Skelessi gave Russia absolute command of the Black Sea, and made Russian influence predominant in Turkey. When, in 1839, the Sultan again quarrelled with Mehemet Ali, and was again defeated, Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, took the opportunity to intervene. He arranged a Convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia to deal with Mehemet Ali. France was left out, because she was known to support Egypt, and this caused temporary ill-feeling between France and England. A British squadron was sent to Syria, and Beirout and Acre were taken. Mehemet's son, Ibrahim, saw his communications with Egypt threatened, and evacuated Syria. The British fleet then appeared before Alexandria, and Mehemet Ali capitulated. He was made hereditary Pasha of Egypt, but was forced to abandon hope of other dominions.

Palmerston's energy had saved Turkey from disruption, and he next secured a diplomatic triumph in the " Convention of the Straits " (1841) by which Turkey and the European powers undertook that the Dardanelles should be closed to all foreign warships. This brought Russian influence over Turkey to an end. A few years later (1844), England showed her determination to maintain the Turkish empire by refusing to consider a Russian proposal to divide it on terms that would have given Egypt to England, and Constantinople to Russia.

PALMERSTON'S POLICY OF INTERVENTION

Canning, whose policy had ended the attempt to rule Europe by international Congresses, died just before the Battle of Navarino (1827). During the last stages of the struggle for Greek independence, British foreign policy was guided by the Duke of Wellington (1827-1830), whose principal aim was to avoid war. But in 1830 Lord Palmerston became Foreign Secretary, and he, far from trying to stand aloof from European affairs, was determined that England should play a great part in them. Palmerston saw no reason why he should not interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations, and he modified Canning's policy of opposing such intervention by other powers to one of making England the

Battle of Navarino, 1827

arbiter in European disputes. He did not intend that his policy should lead to war, but he was an opportunist, ready to use the threat of war as a bluff to make another nation give way to his wishes. Under his control Britain meddled frequently in Europe, and kept other nations guessing what line he would take. Her prestige stood high, but her course was a dangerous one. Often it was only Palmerston's ability in extracting himself from difficult situations and his capacity for rapid and decisive action that averted war.

THE "JULY REVOLUTION": BELGIAN INDEPENDENCE

In 1830 the French drove out the reactionary Charles X., and established a constitutional monarchy under Louis-Philippe, the representative of the Orleans branch of the House of Bourbon. This revolution of 1830, known as the "July Revolution," had an important influence upon European affairs. This was partly because it was a triumph for constitutional government, and partly because, since it was accomplished without bloodshed, it showed Europe that a change of government did not necessarily mean violence and anarchy. Its immediate result was to inspire the Belgians to try to obtain independence for themselves.

The Dutch had become independent in the sixteenth century, but Belgium (the Austrian Netherlands) was one of the European states that had been handed from one ruler to another at the convenience of the great powers. The French had conquered it during the Revolutionary War, but it had been taken from France after the defeat of Napoleon. The Congress of Vienna had decided to unite with Holland, as the kingdom of the United Netherlands, under the rule of the House of Orange.

When the Belgians revolted (1830), expelled the Dutch, and set up a government of their own, the Dutch king appealed to the Quadruple Alliance, which had agreed to uphold the Vienna settlement. Russia, Prussia, and Austria were occupied by a Polish revolution. It was evident that the fate of Belgium would be settled by France and England. The new government of France, that of Louis-Philippe, would have liked to secure popularity at home, either by annexing Belgium, or by bringing it under French influence as an independent state with a French ruler. French troops were therefore sent to expel the Dutch

England had always opposed French control of the Belgian ports Palmerston, who knew that Russia, Prussia, and Austria would support him in this, demanded that the French should withdraw It was decided that Belgium should become an independent kingdom, with Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as its king France and England then united in expelling the Dutch Belgian independence was secured, though it was not till 1829 that the treaty establishing its independence and neutrality was signed This was after a delay caused by the reluctance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria to upset the arrangements made at Vienna

THE SPANISH MARRIAGES

In Belgium Palmerston had championed national independence and constitutional monarchy, and in Spain and Portugal he again supported the liberal cause In both countries, during the thirties there was a succession dispute In Spain the throne was claimed by Queen Isabel and by her uncle, Don Carlos In Portugal the rival claimants were Queen Maria and her uncle, Dom Miguel The advisers of the two Queens were supporters of constitutional government against absolutism

Palmerston saw the chance of forming an alliance of constitutional monarchies, in which he meant England to take the lead, to counterbalance the despotic powers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria He was also influenced by commercial factors to support the winning party was the first step to a trade concession He therefore offered help to the Spanish and Portuguese Queens, and a Quadruple Alliance of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal was arranged (1834) The Portuguese pretender was easily driven out, though it was some years before Don Carlos was overcome in Spain But the weakness of Spain and Portugal made the Quadruple Alliance of little importance in European affairs, and France and England finally became involved in a quarrel about Spain

Relations between France and England had already been strained by English support of Turkey against Mehemet Ali (1839-41) Palmerston had combined the European powers for the overthrow of the Egyptian pasha without reference to France, who was known to support him To avoid war, Louis Philippe had been obliged to accept the check to his policy and he now tried to outwit Palmerston over the marriage of the Queen

Reception of Louis Philippe at Windsor Castle, Oct 8th, 1844

of Spain and her sister To guard against the chance of a union of the French and Spanish crowns, it had been agreed that the Queen's sister should not marry a French prince till Queen Isabel was married and had children. Louis Philippe persuaded Isabel to marry her cousin, the Duke of Cadiz, who was unlikely to have children. He also arranged a marriage, which took place at the same time as the Queen's (1846) between Isabel's sister and his own son, the Duke of Montpensier Since Isabel was unlikely to have children, this meant that Louis Philippe's son would probably become King of Spain, and Palmerston's fury at the trick shattered the friendship between England and France Isabel had a son, however, and the scheme of the French king was a failure

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

The failure of his foreign policy and the loss of English support weakened Louis Philippe's position at home France was already discontented with his government, for all political power was in the hands of the wealthy middle class In 1848 another revolution began, and Louis Philippe was forced to take refuge in England France, after a period of disorder, during which a socialist attempt to set up national workshops failed, established the Second Republic with Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Bonaparte, as its President (1848)

At the same time a wave of revolution swept over Europe The people of the Italian states and those of Hungary rebelled against their Austrian rulers The Austrian emperor abdicated, and the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, fled There were also risings in Germany Palmerston showed sympathy with the Italians, for he did not believe that Austrian control of Italy could last, but he refused to acknowledge the independence of Hungary, which would have broken up the Austrian empire The revolutionary movements achieved little, except in France In Germany they died down, while Austria crushed Italian resistance, and, with Russian help, overcame Hungary

THE DON PACIFICO CASE

Palmerston's high-handed methods roused a good deal of resentment in Europe, though in England he was very popular His policy was that of an autocrat, who intended to set European

affairs in order even if he had to bully the other powers He became so accustomed to force compliance with English demands that, in the famous case of Don Pacifico (1850) he upheld claims that he had not investigated properly, and for which there was no justification

Don Pacifico was a Maltese Jew, who demanded from the Greek government exorbitant compensation for damage done to his property by an Athens mob When he could not obtain satisfaction he appealed to Palmerston, claiming to be a British subject, and Palmerston sent Parker to blockade the Piraeus The Greek government submitted, and paid Don Pacifico his damages, but the whole incident was so unsavoury that Palmerston was attacked in the English Parliament There, as often in European affairs, he saved himself by his own ingenuity In a long and eloquent speech he argued that every British citizen, even a Jew with an unjust claim, should be protected by the state, and should be freed from indignity by his claim to British citizenship, just as a Roman was protected when he could say *Civis Romanus sum*

The result was that Palmerston's popularity as the champion of England increased But Queen Victoria, annoyed by his independent action, asked to be informed in future of his intentions before he committed the country to any policy Palmerston gave way at the moment, but in 1851, when Louis Napoleon had been chosen President for life, he congratulated him without consulting anyone He was thereupon dismissed by the Queen, and his control of English foreign affairs was over for the time being

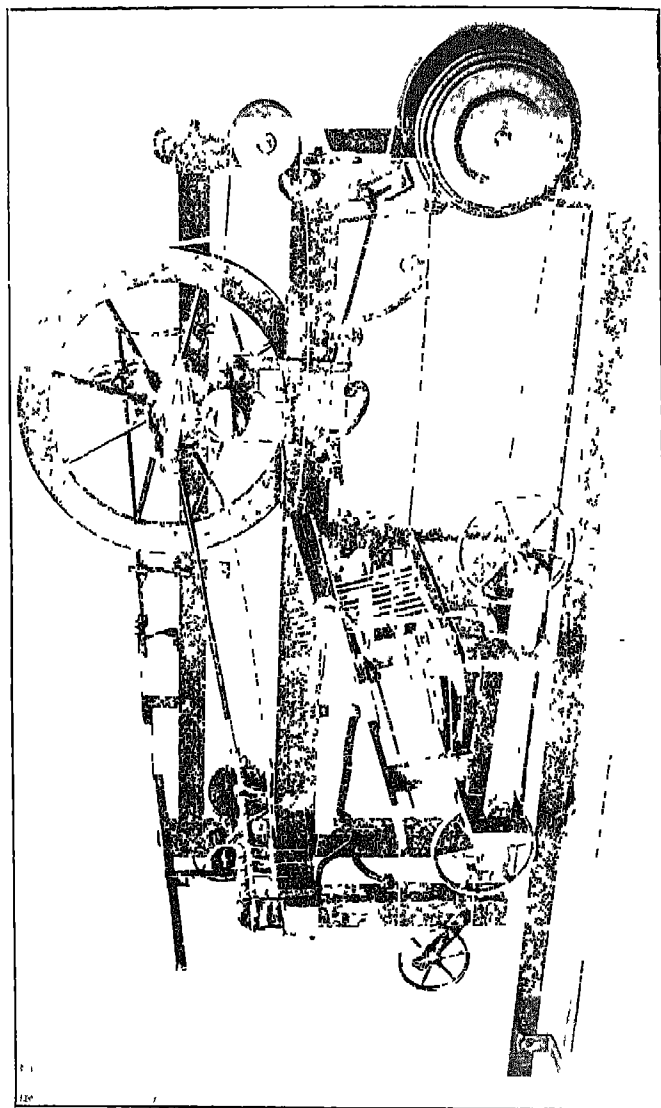
CHAPTER XLIII

THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL REFORM

ECONOMIC DISTRESS

When the long struggle with Napoleon came to an end, English people, uplifted by their victory, looked forward to a time of peace and prosperity. But, instead of this, peace abroad was accompanied by trouble at home. After a short boom trade grew bad. It was hampered by taxation, and there was a great deal of unemployment, for supplies of war were no longer needed and the European nations were too exhausted and poor to be able to buy great quantities of English goods.

Farming, like industry, passed through a difficult period. A large part of the corn imported into England came from Europe, for America was still only on the way to becoming a great corn-producing region. Since the war had cut off European supplies, England had had to grow most of her own corn, and farmers had brought a great deal more land under the plough. When peace came, much of this new corn land no longer paid for cultivation, and the situation was made worse by a bad harvest in 1816. The government tried to protect the English farmer by the Corn Law of 1815, which forbade the import of foreign corn till the price of English corn rose to 80s. a quarter. This meant terrible hardship to the poor. It kept up the price of food, though wages were so low that, in the case of agricultural labourers, the magistrates were habitually adding to them by a grant of poor relief.

Low wages, high prices, unemployment, and the lack of any regulation of hours or conditions of work, were making life very hard for the poor, many of whom were reduced to starvation. The results were outbreaks of rioting, and the breaking of machinery. The workers blamed machinery for their unemployment, although people were out of work in the woollen trade, in which the use of machinery was just beginning as well as in the cotton trade, in which it was already well-established. In 1817 a march of Manchester cotton workers to London to air their

CROMPTON'S MULE

So called because it combined the principles of the jenny and the water-frame

grievances occurred, nicknamed the "March of the Blanketeers," from the blankets carried for bedding The country appeared to be falling into a state of violence and disorder, very alarming to people who remembered the terrorism of the French Revolution and feared that similar events might take place in England

REPRESSION AND AGITATION

Unfortunately, the government of Lord Liverpool (1812-1827) misunderstood the true cause of the trouble—the economic misery of the poor—and suspected the lower classes of revolutionary tendencies imported from France They therefore continued the policy of repression begun by Pitt In 1817 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a time, so that people could be imprisoned if suspected of conspiracy The discussion of reform became dangerous An attempt to stop the publication of writings that the government considered seditious failed only because the juries considered it an attack on the freedom of the press, and refused to convict

This policy of repression unaccompanied by any attempt to improve working-class conditions might have caused the revolution that it was intended to prevent But the Radical reformers whom the government was so eager to suppress were teaching the lower classes to seek a remedy for their troubles in the reform of Parliament William Cobbett, a small farmer, who had once served as a private soldier, and who knew the conditions under which the poor lived, did much to bring about this change by his weekly paper, the "Political Register" This attacked the corrupt system by which the election of members of Parliament was controlled by great landowners and by rich merchants, who could afford to buy seats for themselves and their friends

Cobbett pointed out that Parliament imposed Corn Laws to please the landowners, and removed checks on trade to please the merchants, because it represented these classes and was dependent on them He argued that it would do nothing to protect the workers till they had votes In 1816 he reduced the price of his paper to twopence, which led his opponents to nickname it "Twopenny Trash," and it became widely read From this time, as Bamford, a contemporary Radical points out, rioting became more rare, and the workers agitated for Parliamentary reform

The government was one of extreme Tories, who could see no fault in what they described as our "Matchless Constitution," and continued to regard the demand for reform as seditious and revolutionary Meanwhile the demand spread, and in 1819, after another period of bad trade, large mass meetings in favour of manhood suffrage were held in the industrial areas of the midlands and the north In August a Radical speaker, Orator Hunt, held a meeting in St Peter's Fields, Manchester, which was attended by about sixty thousand people Though the meeting was orderly and unarmed, the magistrates ordered the local

Gooch

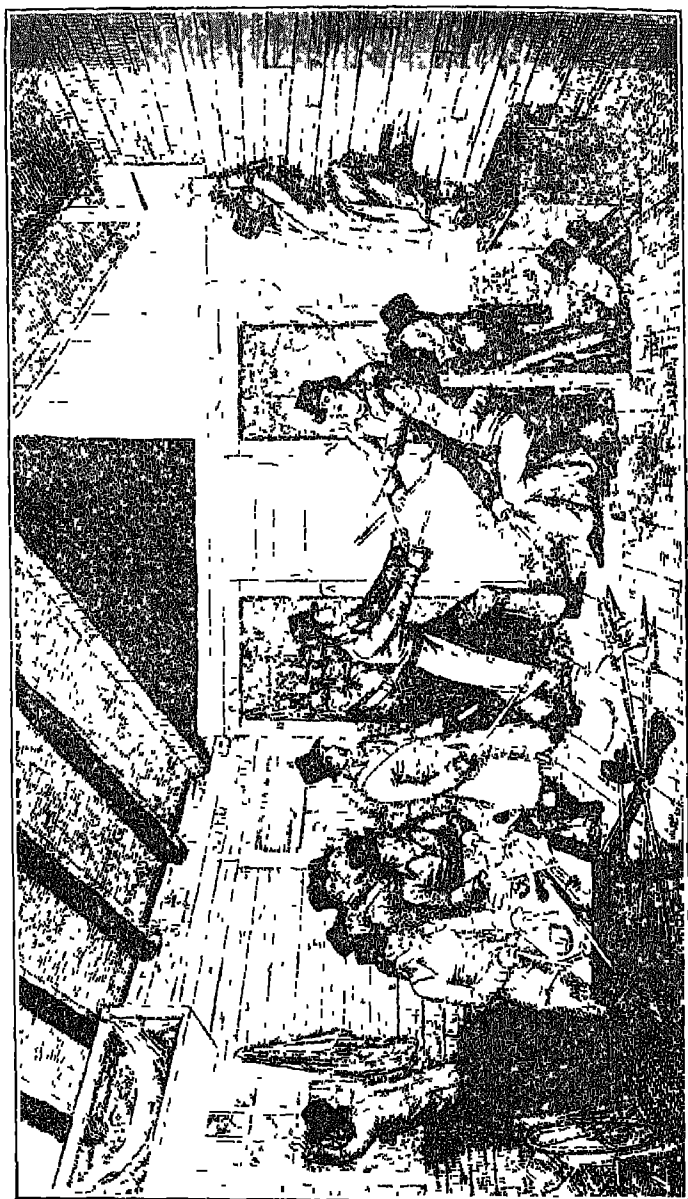
RECANTATION OF MR HUNT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Yeomanry to arrest the leaders When the crowd resisted, a charge was made to clear the field, and, since the horses of the yeomanry got out of hand, a large number of people were injured, while about eleven were killed, and a hundred wounded by sabre cuts

This incident, nicknamed "Peterloo," roused much feeling, more especially since the government congratulated the Manchester magistrates on their action It was followed by the repressive measures known as the "Six Acts" (1819), which forbade unauthorised military training, allowed the magistrates, during the next two years, to issue warrants for searching private houses for concealed arms, made speedy trials possible, restricted the right to public meetings, forbade the publication of blasphemous or seditious libels, and placed a stamp duty of 4d a copy on newspapers

THE CATO STREET CONSPIRACY THE ROYAL DIVORCE

In 1820, a plot, the Cato Street Conspiracy, was made to murder all the members of the Liverpool ministry at a dinner in Grosvenor Square The leader of the conspiracy was Thistlewood, who had deserted from the army He and his fellow conspirators were betrayed, and five were hanged. The ministry was so unpopular that the plot made little stir. Violence and rioting now died down, however, for the attention of the nation was caught by the attempt of George IV, who came to the throne in 1820, to divorce his Queen, Caroline.

This divorce case showed the extreme unpopularity of the royal family The sons of George III had led scandalous lives, and George IV, who had acted as Regent during his father's insanity, was especially notorious Public opinion was that he had no right to attempt to divorce his Queen, even if her private life had been irregular. The attempt at divorce resulted from Caroline's refusal to live abroad, and the Whigs and large sections of the nation championed her cause There were long debates as the government pushed the bill for the divorce through the House of Lords, and Liverpool wisely dropped it, so it was never sent to the Commons The main purpose that it served was as a sort of political comedy, that helped to turn the minds of the lower classes from revolution

Capture of the Cato Street Conspirators

PEEL'S REFORMS

In 1819 England had seemed to be on the verge of a revolution, but the violence of the agitation for reform died down. Popular attention was caught by the scandals revealed by the attempt of George IV to divorce his queen (1820), and the Tories remained in office till 1830.

But in the twenties the character of the Tory ministry had altered. Lord Liverpool remained at its head till his death (1827), but Liverpool was much influenced by his colleagues. During the earlier years of the ministry, Castlereagh and Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, had favoured repressive measures. The rising statesmen of the Tory party were much more liberal in their views. Liverpool's ministry was gradually invaded by these liberal-minded Tories, who gave it a more progressive character. In 1818 Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade, and in 1821 Peel succeeded Sidmouth as Home Secretary. In 1822, when Castlereagh committed suicide, Canning took charge of foreign affairs.

During the twenties Peel and Huskisson carried out important reforms in their own departments. Robert Peel, the son of a Lancashire cotton manufacturer, who had made a fortune, was destined to become the leader of the Tory landowners as well as of the Tory manufacturers. His father had intended him for a political career, and had bought him a seat in Parliament as soon as he left the University. In a short time he was appointed Secretary for Ireland, and he was only thirty-three when he became Home Secretary.

Peel believed in the removal of abuses rather than in coercion. As Home Secretary he quietly discontinued political persecutions, and the employment of government spies to look for sedition and conspiracy among the working classes. This lessened national hostility to the government, and probably helped to avoid further violent outbursts. But his greatest task was the reform of the criminal code. English criminal law was extraordinarily bloodthirsty. A very large number of crimes, some of which were only small thefts, were punishable by death. As a result thieves were ready to use violence, since the punishment for theft was as severe as that for murder. Also juries often refused to convict criminals of minor offences to save them from a death-sentence. Much crime therefore went unpunished.

Romilly and Mackintosh had agitated for the reform of this brutal and senseless system, but had been defeated by the reluctance of Parliament to alter existing laws. Now Peel undertook the task of sweeping away a great crowd of capital punishments. At the present day, people are sentenced to death only for such serious crimes as treason and murder.

Peel's object was to establish law and order on a reasonable basis. In 1829 he created the Metropolitan Police Force to take the place of the old watchmen, who were powerless to keep order in a great city. In the past, the only means of dealing with a mob had been by summoning military aid, and, as in the Gordon Riots, mobs had been able to terrorise London. Peel's force, nicknamed " Peelers," or " Bobbies," provided a means of checking disorder as soon as it began, and of preventing outbreaks of popular violence, such as had occurred earlier in the century. The London police force was imitated by other cities, and during the century borough and county police were established by Act of Parliament.

HUSKISSON AND FREE TRADE. THE COMBINATION LAWS

Meanwhile, as President of the Board of Trade, Huskisson was revising English tariffs. These, as a means of war taxation had again accumulated since their reduction and simplification by Pitt. Like Pitt, Huskisson was a believer in the free trade doctrines of Adam Smith, and he removed many import duties and reduced others. The duties retained were used as a means of giving preference to colonial trade by placing a lower duty on colonial goods than on those from foreign countries.

The Navigation Laws, first passed during the period of Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry in the seventeenth century, and compelling the almost exclusive use of British ships for British trade, were modified. This was because other countries, led by the United States, were beginning a policy of retaliation, by imposing special taxes on goods imported in British vessels. Direct trade between Europe and the colonies was permitted, and a Reciprocity Act was passed to allow the government to negotiate treaties between England and foreign countries for the free use of each other's ports. Huskisson also brought forward a scheme for the revision of the Corn Law, but it was rejected. Wellington's government, later, substituted a " sliding scale "—

that is, a duty that varied with the price of corn—for the fixed duty of 1815

The more liberal spirit of the Tory government in the twenties was seen in the trade union sphere Francis Place, a Radical tailor of London, who had himself, as a journeyman, experienced the disadvantages of the workers, and Joseph Hume, a private member of Parliament, secured the partial repeal of the Combination Laws passed by Pitt to make trade unions illegal In 1824 Place and Hume secured the passage of a very liberal bill, but an outbreak of strikes in the next year led to its repeal In 1825 combinations of masters and workmen for bargaining over wages were permitted, but for no other purpose, and there were very strict provisions against intimidation

REMOVAL OF RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES

In 1827 Canning had succeeded Liverpool as Prime Minister, but he died after four months in office From 1828 to 1830 the Prime Minister was the Duke of Wellington Wellington's ministry was one of rigid Tories, for the followers of Canning, the "Canningites," resigned, splitting the party This High Tory ministry was destined, by no good will of its own, to remove the religious disabilities the Tory party had so finely upheld

In Charles II 's reign the Test Act and the Corporation Act had been passed, imposing religious tests on all holders of municipal offices, or of offices of state, to ensure that they should be members of the Church of England Since the Whigs had the support of the Protestant Dissenters, they had, in 1727, begun the practice of passing an annual Indemnity Act, to shield Dissenters who obtained office by evading the tests In 1828, when Lord John Russell introduced a bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, it obtained so great a majority in the Commons that Wellington and his most important supporter, Peel, did not oppose it Dissenters thus obtained political equality with Churchmen But Roman Catholics remained excluded from public offices by a religious test

A struggle now began between Whigs and Tories over Catholic emancipation · that is, the removal of the political disabilities of Catholics Opposition to Catholic emancipation was one of the principles of the Tory party and had the support of Wellington and Peel But the hand of the government was forced by events in Ireland, where, throughout the twenties,

O'Connell had been agitating for the Catholic emancipation that had been refused at the time of the Union (1800) In 1828, when O'Connell was elected as member for County Clare, and was unable to sit in Parliament because of the religious tests, it seemed likely that civil war would break out Peel and Wellington, who were too moderate and sensible to force such a conclusion by obstinacy, gave way. In 1829 they compelled their party to accept a bill for the emancipation of Catholics But in the next year (1830), a renewed demand for Parliamentary reform led to the fall of the ministry

CONTROL OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

In the eighteenth century Parliamentary government meant government by the landed aristocracy When peers they had seats in the House of Lords, and they were also able, by controlling elections, to choose most of the members of the House of Commons County representatives in the Commons were often freely chosen, for in the counties every one who possessed freehold land worth 40s a year had a vote. Yet even in the counties, elections were sometimes decided by local magnates Moreover, country elections were infrequent, since the expense incurred in fighting a seat was great, and candidates were often returned unopposed

But the representatives of boroughs outnumbered those of counties by more than four to one, and the system of borough representation was very corrupt. The grounds on which a man had a right to vote varied in different boroughs In some cases the mayor and corporation of the borough chose its representatives In other cases the election was in the hands of a small number of the inhabitants Some boroughs had so decreased in size, since the time when representation was granted to them, that they had scarcely any voters at all In a few instances, as at Westminster, elections were free, and the franchise democratic As a rule the smallness of the number of electors either enabled some great landowning family to control elections and to regard the borough representation as its own property, or made it possible for the votes of the electors to be bought

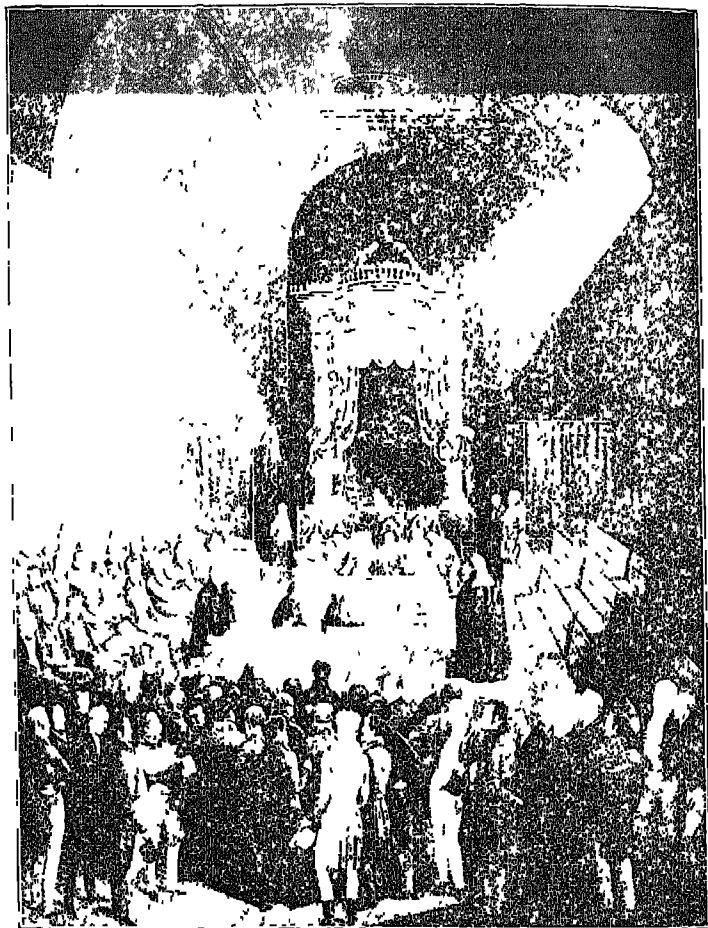
THE REFORM MOVEMENT

Control of Parliamentary elections had, in the eighteenth century, enabled the Whig landowners to rule England for fifty years. When George III brought about their downfall by turning their own methods of controlling Parliament against them the Whigs began to demand Parliamentary reform. Reform had also the support of Pitt during his earlier years, but his Reform Bill of 1785 was rejected by the Tories. In 1789 the outbreak of the French Revolution caused Pitt and the Tory party to adopt a policy of reaction, and to regard all proposals for reform as revolutionary. If the upper classes, who controlled Parliament, had now united against reform, it might have been possible to obtain it only by revolutionary means. But Fox, his disciple, Grey, and a minority of the Whig party continued to advocate it during the struggle with France.

After the Napoleonic war, however, it was not the aristocratic Whig leaders who revived the agitation for reform, but the working classes. They were inspired by Cobbett, and by such Radical speakers as Orator Hunt, who addressed the great mass meetings of 1819 to demand manhood suffrage. The Whigs had no connection with this working-class movement, which was represented in the Commons by Sir Francis Burdett, the member for Westminster, and by John Cam Hobhouse. But during the twenties, the Whig Lord John Russell secured the disfranchisement of the Cornish borough of Grampound (1821), while the Tories remained opposed to any change in the constitution.

In 1830, the struggle for religious equality being at an end, agitation for reform began again. This time it had the support of the middle classes, hitherto aloof. Cobbett's influence revived, and in London the Radical tailor, Francis Place, established the National Political Union. The Union's purpose was, like that of Atwood's Political Union in Birmingham, to organise the reformers. In the Political Unions, the middle classes and the workers united, and these societies kept the reform movement peaceable and orderly, and so quietened the fears of those inclined to confuse reform with revolution.

In July the French Revolution of 1830, which established a constitutional monarchy under Louis Philippe, greatly

encouraged the reformers In the elections that followed the accession of William IV, Wellington's Tory majority was reduced in size When the Duke announced his support of the existing system of representation, his ministry was defeated in the Commons and resigned.

THE REFORM BILL, 1832, RECEIVING THE ROYAL ASSENT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

THE PASSING OF THE FIRST REFORM ACT

The Reformers now came into office under Earl Grey In his youth he had been a disciple of Fox, and had throughout his life supported reform, but had refused to introduce another reform bill till he was sure of middle class support Grey's ministry included both Whigs and "Canningites," or Liberal Tories Its most important members were Althorp, Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Palmerston, Brougham, and Sir James Graham Its first Reform Bill (1831) was defeated in Committee, and Parliament was dissolved

The Whigs had a majority in the next House of Commons, but when Lord John Russell brought forward a second Reform Bill, it was defeated in the Lords (1831) An outburst of popular feeling followed, and there was serious rioting, a great part of Bristol being burnt down A third Reform Bill (1832) was introduced, and when it was threatened by defeat in the Lords, the King promised to create if necessary enough new peers to ensure a majority for it The Lords then gave way, and passed the measure

The Reform Act of 1832 trebled the number of people who had votes, but it did not establish democratic government Fifty-six boroughs lost their representation in Parliament, while another thirty were in future to be represented by one member instead of by two The seats taken from the boroughs were distributed among large towns, such as Manchester, many of which had previously been unrepresented in Parliament, and among the larger counties

The franchise was made the same throughout the country In the boroughs, the vote was given to all householders whose dwellings were assessed for rates at £10 a year In the counties the franchise was extended to people who held on a long lease leasehold or copyhold land worth £10 a year, or £50 a year in the case of a short lease The 40s freeholders retained the vote which they had had before The result was to enfranchise the middle class, while the working class remained unrepresented and began new agitations for democratic government The manufacturers and traders obtained a voice in the government, but the grant of the vote to tenant farmers kept the landed interest strong in the Commons The landed aristocracy continued to dominate the House of Lords

CHAPTER XLIV

LIBERALISM, CONSERVATISM, AND CHARTISM

BENTHAMISM AND REFORM

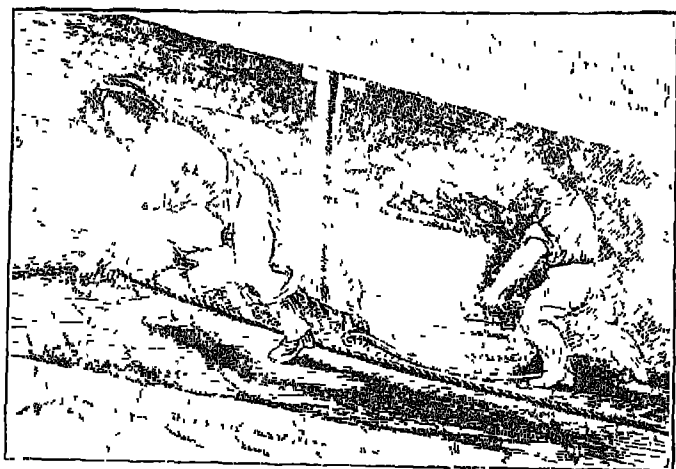
The success of the Reform Act (1832) inspired the Whigs, first under the premiership of Lord Grey (1830-1834), and then under that of Lord Melbourne (1834-1841), to follow up their reform of Parliament by that of other institutions. A short period of energetic legislation occurred, in which the work of re-organisation done by the Liberal Tories in the twenties was carried on by the Whigs in a more drastic fashion.

The eighteenth century respect for established institutions survived into the nineteenth. But it had to fight a losing struggle against the desire for reform inspired by the free trade doctrines of Adam Smith, and the individualism and utilitarianism of the philosopher Bentham. Bentham taught that the good of the community could best be attained by leaving the individual free to develop his own powers and his own enterprises. He also held that all institutions must be judged by their usefulness, what was useless being swept away without reverence for tradition.

The influence of Bentham inspired many reforms. Grey's ministry began the appointment of Royal Commissions to investigate the working of existing institutions and to suggest changes. Municipal government was reformed. A new poor law was enacted. Slavery was abolished, and a grant of money was made for popular education. These measures were not altogether the work of the Whigs. Popular education, the demand for the abolition of slavery, and the improvement of industrial conditions were begun by organisations or individuals outside Parliament. The Tories, rather than the Whigs, were responsible for the Factory Acts.

OWEN AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

The pioneer of factory improvement was Robert Owen, who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, showed that improved industrial conditions were not harmful to trade. He carried on a

prosperous business in his mill at New Lanark, although hours of work were moderate and conditions healthy His workers were well paid, and provision made for their education and recreation Owen's example converted the Tory millowner, Sir Robert Peel, the father of the politician, and Peel and Owen drew up a Factory Act But the influence of Bentham's doctrine of individualism, and of Adam Smith's arguments against government restrictions on industry led nineteenth century manufacturers to oppose all state intervention to protect the workers. Peel's Factory Act (1819) was so much amended that, when

Rischgitz

WOMAN AND A CHILD DRAWING COAL IN A MINE

passed, it did little more than forbid the employment in cotton mills of children under nine years of age

In the thirties and forties the working class demand for industrial reform was organised by Oastler and Michael Sadler, and the Tory philanthropist, Lord Shaftesbury, supported factory legislation in Parliament In 1833 the Tory humanitarians forced the Whigs to pass a Factory Act which forbade the employment of children under nine years old in factories manufacturing textiles other than silk Children between nine and thirteen were not to work for more than eight hours a day, and women and youths for not more than ten hours The most

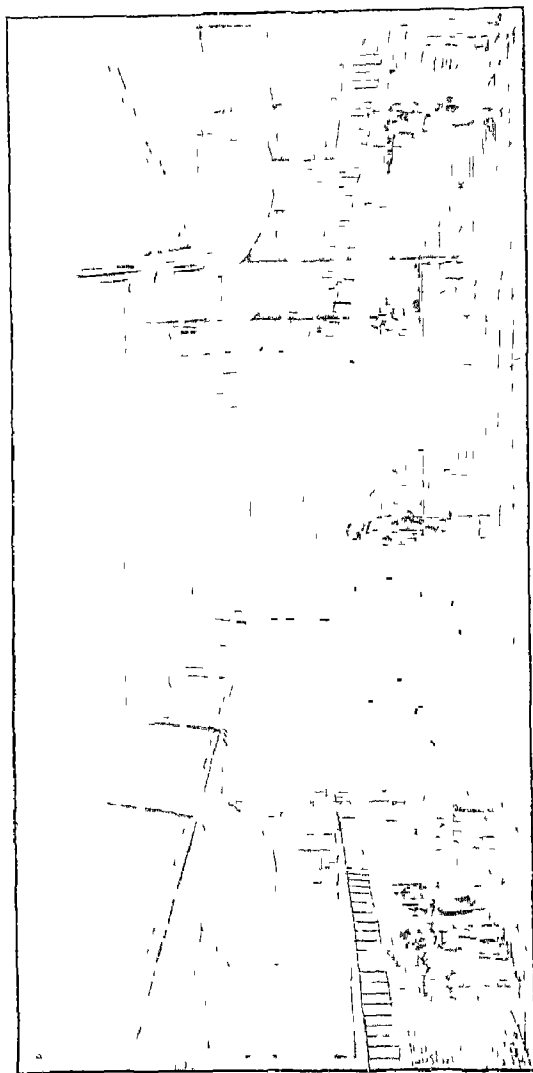
important point about the Act was that it was to be enforced by government inspectors, and so could not be evaded by manufacturers and parents, as previous Acts had been.

EDUCATION

During the early years of the nineteenth century, while Peel and Owen were attempting to improve industrial conditions, religious philanthropists were providing schools for the poor The movement was begun by Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, who invented the "monitorial system" By this system children could be taught cheaply, if not very satisfactorily, by a single master The master kept order while the elder children (monitors) taught lessons, which they had learnt by heart, to the younger children

Lancaster's work led to the foundation of the non-conformist "British and Foreign Schools Society" (1808) This provoked philanthropists of the Church of England to support the work of an Anglican teacher, Bell, and to found the "National Society" (1811) The building of Church Schools and Nonconformist Schools went on rapidly, until by 1832 those of the National Society numbered 12,000 In 1853 Parliament began the system of making an annual grant of £20,000 for education The money went to support the work of the two societies, and was the first step towards the provision of elementary education by the state

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

The later years of the eighteenth century had seen an anti-slavery movement, led by Wilberforce and supported by Fox, that brought about the abolition of the slave trade (1807) But slavery continued to exist in the West Indies, where the planters now bred their own slaves instead of importing them Buxton and Zachary Macauley exposed the abuses of West Indian slavery, and in 1823 an Anti-Slavery Association was established In 1833 the Whigs passed an Act for the emancipation of slaves, and slavery was forbidden in the British Empire Compensation was paid to slave owners, but discontent was caused among the West Indian sugar planters and the Boer farmers in South Africa

JOSEPH LANCASTER'S SCHOOL IN THE BOROUGH ROAD, LONDON

THE POOR LAW

After the passing of the Reform Act, the Whigs had appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Poor Law, and in 1834 a Poor Law Amendment Act was passed. The most important abuse to be remedied was the practice of granting poor relief as an addition to wages. This practice, due to low wages, had been turned, by the Speenhamland magistrates (1795), into an organised system, based on the cost of living, and had led to the pauperisation and demoralisation of the workers. It ought to have been remedied by the establishment of a minimum wage, but, instead of this, the acceptance of poor relief was discouraged by the "workhouse test". This meant that outdoor relief for the able-bodied poor was abolished, and they were forced either to enter a workhouse or to support themselves.

The Elizabethan poor law had made each parish responsible for its own poor, and had established overseers to collect a poor-rate and to grant poor relief. In 1834 parishes were grouped into "Unions". In each Union the grant of poor relief was to be supervised by an elected "Board of Guardians". These Boards were responsible to a central body of three Poor Law Commissioners, who were transformed later into a Poor Law Board. Since the object of the system was to cause workers to be reluctant to take relief, life in the workhouses was deliberately made hard and wretched, with the intention of making the lot of paupers worse than that of independent labourers. The workhouses, nicknamed "Bastilles," caused bitter resentment, helped to cause class hostility, and spurred the working classes to attempts to establish democratic government.

MUNICIPAL REFORM

The Act of 1832 had reformed the system of borough representation in Parliament, but the government of the boroughs themselves remained corrupt. Their councils were, in most cases, chosen by a very small number of electors and did little for the town, local services being provided by private enterprise. In 1835 Lord John Russell brought forward the Municipal Corporations Act to reform this state of things.

Borough councillors were to be elected by the ratepayers of the borough, and were to hold office for three years. The

councillors were to elect aldermen, who were to hold office for six years, and a mayor, who was to be chosen annually. Municipal accounts were to be audited, in order to check the corruption and jobbery which had hitherto prevailed. The borough franchise was democratic, but the choice of councillors was

Gooch

SHOEMAKING INSTRUCTION AT A POOR LAW INSTITUTION, 1860

limited by a high property qualification. The new Act did not introduce sweeping changes, but paved the way for the extension of the functions of municipal councils during the nineteenth century. Local government outside the boroughs remained unchanged.

PEEL AND CONSERVATISM

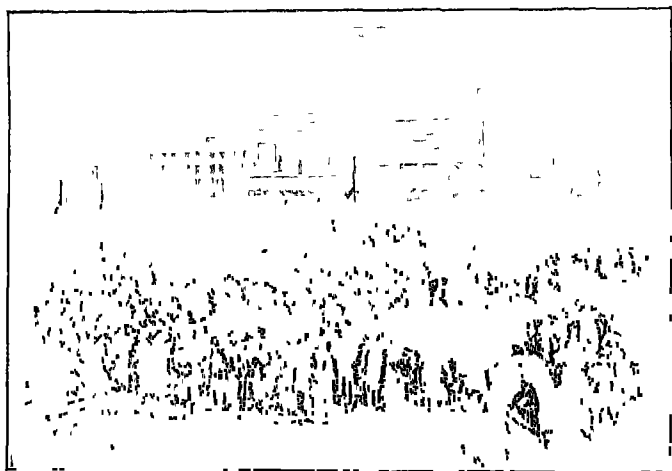
After the Reform Act (1832) had been passed, Peel set himself to persuade the Tory party to accept the new state of affairs In 1834 William IV, who disliked the Whigs, dismissed Melbourne, and made Peel his Prime Minister It is doubtful whether the King was acting constitutionally in dismissing a ministry in which no disagreement about policy had occurred and which had not been defeated in the Commons Peel at once secured the dissolution of Parliament, so that a general election could decide which party had the support of the country. In his address to his own constituents of Tamworth, he laid down the new Tory policy, which was to be one of reforming abuses while maintaining which was good in the constitution This policy obtained the name of "Conservatism," and the Tamworth Manifesto (1834) is usually regarded as the point at which the old Tory became the modern Conservative

The election that followed increased the strength of the Conservative party, but not sufficiently to keep them in office Peel was defeated in the Commons, and Melbourne again became Prime Minister Melbourne was cultured, witty, and able, but he was not liberal in his opinions, and believed that things were best left alone Under his leadership the Whig reforms came to an end with the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act (1835). His most important achievement was the training of Queen Victoria, who was only eighteen when she came to the throne (1837), in the duties of a constitutional sovereign and in a knowledge of the affairs of state.

The only drawback to this was that, when Melbourne, finding that his ministry was losing the support of the Commons, resigned (1839), the Queen was reluctant to exchange him for Sir Robert Peel who was stiffer and less charming. Peel, who lacked Melbourne's tact and who felt that Victoria was too much under the influence of the Whigs, made the situation more awkward by refusing to take office unless the Queen would dismiss her Whig Ladies of the Bedchamber, and replace them by Conservatives Victoria refused, so, as a result of this "Bedchamber Question," Melbourne and the Whigs remained in power for another two years In 1840 the Queen married

Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg who received the title of "Prince Consort" In 1841 an election gave the Conservatives a majority in the Commons, and Peel became Prime Minister

FINANCIAL CHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION

Since he had been trained in Tory principles, Peel did not consider himself a reformer Yet he had already established

CHARTIST GATHERING
The great gathering in Hyde Park to present the Monster Petition
From the *Illustrated London News*

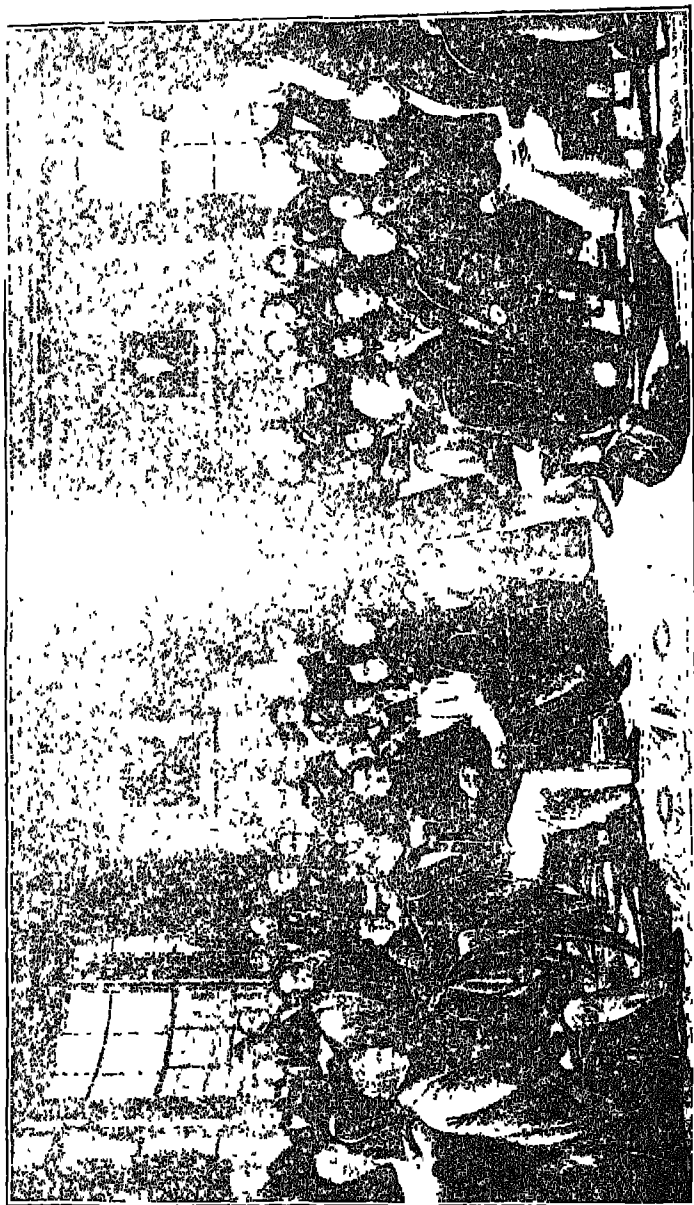
the police force and reformed the criminal code, and his conversion to the cause of Catholic emancipation had shown that he could alter his policy to suit circumstances He had the confidence of his party and had been able to lead it from rigid Toryism to accept a Conservative policy of moderate reform As the son of a cotton manufacturer and the possessor of a fortune derived from trade, his sympathies lay with the Conservative manufacturers rather than with the Tory landowners, and the work of his ministry was designed to help trade by financial measures

Huskisson had already made a step towards free trade by the reduction of duties. Peel carried the process further, and counterbalanced his reduction of duties for revenue purposes by an income tax of sevenpence in the pound. By the Bank Charter Act (1844) he limited the number of notes that could be issued by the Bank of England. He also made provisions which finally caused the issue of notes by English private banks to cease, and kept the value of banknotes stable. But while this policy was being carried forward in Parliament, public opinion outside was being organised to demand further changes.

At this period, nicknamed the "Hungry Forties," the working class was passing through a time of great misery. The price of food was high, wages were low, and conditions of work were often very bad. The new Poor Law (1834) deliberately imposed hardships upon able-bodied workers who had been driven to seek relief in the workhouses. The result was much bitter feeling, and various efforts to change one or another of these conditions. The Chartist movement continued the working class struggle to secure the votes which had not been granted to workers by the Reform Act (1832). At the same time there were attempts to improve economic conditions.

In 1841 a Parliamentary Commission was established to enquire into the conditions under which women and children worked in mines. The shocking revelations which followed led to an Act to forbid boys under ten and women to be employed in mines at all. In 1847, the work of women and children in factories was limited to ten hours a day, and this involved a similar reduction in the working hours of men.

THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE. COBDEN AND BRIGHT

This industrial legislation was inspired by the Conservative Lord Shaftesbury. It was looked on with disfavour by manufacturers, for the economists of the day taught that government interference was harmful to industry. The manufacturers argued that the poverty of the workers should be relieved by the repeal of the Corn Laws, which checked the importation of foreign corn, and so kept up the price of bread. This struggle for corn-law repeal came into the forefront of politics during the forties because the rivalry between industrial and agricultural

COBDEN ADDRESSING THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE COUNCIL

interests found expression in it The landowners and farmers argued that the manufacturers wanted cheap corn in order to be able to pay their workmen low wages, and that to let England become dependent upon foreign countries for food was dangerous The manufacturers argued that landowners and farmers wanted protection in order to keep up the prices, and to become rich at the expense of the poor They advocated the adoption of free trade.

The opponents of the Corn Laws organised the Anti-Corn Law League (1838) to spread their doctrines The centre of this League was Manchester, and it was financed principally by cotton manufacturers, its leaders being Richard Cobden and John Bright Bright, the son of a Rochdale Quaker, was a great orator, while the speaking of Cobden, a Manchester cotton manufacturer, combined enthusiasm with a clever use of statistics. Cobden had a genuine belief that industrial development made for the happiness of mankind and would usher in an age of peace and prosperity This gave his support of free trade a crusading fervour that led his opponents to sneer at him as "an inspired bagman," who believed in a "cotton millenium" But cheap bread was an attractive theme, and the speeches of the Anti-Corn Law League agitators soon aroused popular enthusiasm, and obtained the support of the nation for free trade

THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

Peel was unwilling to carry his free trade principles as far as the repeal of the Corn Laws His own interests and sympathies were those of the manufacturers, but the Conservative party was the party of the landowners who were strong supporters of protection for agriculture Peel at first refused to meddle with the Corn Laws, but he was never a convinced opponent of repeal, and had difficulty in replying to arguments in its favour He knew that he would split his party if he gave way

In 1845 a crisis seemed to have appeared The Anti-Corn Law agitation in the country had aroused the lower classes, and a bad harvest increased their discontent At the same time the failure of the potato crop caused famine in Ireland Peel decided that the price of corn must be brought down, and that the Corn Laws must be repealed When his Cabinet would not agree to this policy he resigned Owing to quarrels in the Whig party,

which prevented Lord John Russell from forming a ministry, he was obliged to return to office and repeal the Corn Laws himself (1846)

The Commons passed the measure for repeal because they knew that, if it were defeated, a general election would certainly give the necessary majority for it The Duke of Wellington, who realised that the failure of the Bill might cause revolutionary

LORD BEACONSFIELD

outbursts, induced the Lords to pass it But the Conservative landowners felt that Peel had betrayed them, and he lost the support of the convinced protectionists, who had for their champion the brilliant Jew, Benjamin Disraeli Disraeli took this opportunity of making his reputation by sarcastic and harassing attacks upon Peel.

The repeal of the Corn Laws committed England to the policy of becoming an industrial nation, and of championing free trade Industry expanded rapidly and wealth increased, but it is difficult to know how far this was due to free trade, and how far to the

fact that England was industrialised before other nations, and so lacked effective competitors. Agriculture did not at first suffer through loss of protection, for the outbreak of the Crimean war kept up the price of corn in the fifties, and in the sixties the American Civil War checked the import of American corn. After this British agriculture began to feel the effect of foreign competition.

CHARTISM

The movement for political reform that followed the Napoleonic wars had originated with the working classes, though

POLICE AWAITING THE CHARTIST PROCESSION IN HYDE PARK
From the *Illustrated London News*

it was not till the middle classes and the aristocratic Whigs united with them that the Reform Act of 1832 was secured. That measure was a great disappointment to the workers for, in spite of the part which they had played in obtaining it, it left them without votes. The reformed government soon aroused working class hostility by the harsh treatment of the able-bodied pauper instituted by the Poor Law Amendment Act. There was still a general belief that if democratic government were established the poverty and misery of the lower classes would be swept away and better wages and industrial conditions obtained. So another movement for political reform arose.

This was Chartism, so named from the "People's Charter" (1838) drawn up by William Lovatt, the leader of the London Working Men's Association The programme of the Charter was political, and the "six points" demanded were manhood suffrage, voting by ballot, the establishment of equal electoral districts, the payment of members of Parliament, the abolition of a property qualification for M P s, and the election of annual Parliaments These things have, with the exception of the last, been obtained since, and do not seem unreasonable or revolutionary to modern ideas

The Charter was taken up enthusiastically throughout the country Chartist associations sprang up everywhere and sent representatives to a central Convention at Birmingham, which organised a petition to Parliament to accept the Charter (1839) The Chartist leaders were divided on the policy to be adopted to force the government to comply Lovatt and the greater number of the Chartists were opposed to the use of physical force But there was also a "physical force" minority led by Feargus O'Connor, an unstable enthusiast, who had conducted a newspaper the "Northern Star" in Leeds to support Chartism

The rejection of the petition led to serious rioting and some bloodshed, the most serious risings being at Birmingham and at Newport But a revolution was avoided and order restored, partly through the moderation with which Sir Charles Napier controlled his troops, and partly because the Whig government treated the whole movement tactfully Measures of repression such as had aroused popular hostility in 1819 were avoided

THE DECLINE OF THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

In the forties the Anti-Corn Law agitation turned popular feeling into another channel But in 1848, the "year of revolutions," the revolutionary movements in other European countries were accompanied by a Chartist demonstration in England when a monster petition was presented to Parliament Again the government did not make the mistake of adopting repressive measures, though precautions were taken for maintaining order But the petition brought ridicule on the movement when it was discovered that many of its signatures were forgeries, and Chartism collapsed

That it was not revived again was due to many factors. Trade was reviving, and the work of Shaftesbury and the Conservatives was securing improvement in industrial conditions With the revival of trade, England began to take pride in her industrial supremacy, advertised by the Great Exhibition of 1851 The doctrines of individualism and free trade, on which it was supposed to rest, became universally accepted. The workers looked less to Parliamentary intervention for the improvement of their conditions, and more to working class organisation. In 1851 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was founded, and trade unionism became more efficient, and inclined to put faith in negotiations and in a policy of progressive improvement rather than in strikes and violence

The repeal of the Corn Laws had split the Conservative party (1846) For almost twenty years, except for two short intervals when the Conservative Protectionists were in office under Lord Derby (1852 and 1858-1859), England was governed by a combination of Peelite Conservatives, Whigs, and Liberals, under the premierships of Lord John Russell (1846-1852), Lord Aberdeen (1852-1855), and Lord Palmerston (1855-1858 and 1859-1865) Party leaders did not favour advanced measures in home policy Though Liberalism was steadily growing in the Whig party, it did not become predominant until the death of Palmerston (1865) removed the control of the old-fashioned, aristocratic Whigs

CHAPTER XLV

INDIA 1783-1858

PITT'S INDIA ACT

The extension of British power in India roused a feeling that the control of Indian policy ought not to be left entirely in the hands of a trading concern like the East India Company. But to find the best way in which authority would be divided between the Company and the British Parliament was a difficult problem. North's Regulating Act (1773), the first attempt at a solution, proved to have many defects, and, after the defeat of Fox's India Bill (1783) which would have taken away the Company's political authority altogether, Pitt passed his India Act (1784).

North's Act had placed a Governor-General and Council at the head of the Indian administration, but, while all responsibility rested upon the Governor-General, his Council was able to outvote and overrule him. The Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings (1772-1785) had shown the defects of this arrangement. Hastings had had to carry out his policy in spite of continual opposition from a section of his Council, headed by Philip Francis. Pitt's India Act re-organised the Council, so that the Governor-General could no longer be overruled. It established a Parliamentary Board of Control, which the Directors of the East India Company had to consult upon Indian affairs. This was intended to link up the policy of Parliament with that of the Company. Pitt's Act remained the basis of Indian administration till 1858.

The work of Clive and Warren Hastings (1772-1785) had made the Company the greatest power in India. It had taken over the task of administering Bengal. The Carnatic and the Circars were under its control. It was in alliance with Oudh, and its influence extended over the states of the Deccan and of north-eastern India. Feeling in England was opposed to any further extension of its power, and Pitt's Act forbade interference in the affairs of native states. But in practice a policy of non-interven-

tion in Indian affairs proved impossible, and the Company was forced to extend its dominions almost against its own will

CORNWALLIS AND BENGAL

Cornwallis, Warren Hastings' successor, made important changes in the administration of Bengal His ideas were purely English, and he lacked Hastings' understanding of Indians and of Indian institutions He began the policy of excluding Indians from responsible positions giving them good government but no share in ruling themselves

Under the rule of the Moguls " zemindars," or collectors, had been placed over each district of Bengal, and were expected to provide the central government with the amount of revenue it demanded But they were free to keep for themselves as much more as they could extract from the Indian peasants Under the rule of the Company these native zemindars paid over their contributions to the British Collectors put in charge of revenue and administration by Warren Hastings

The Company let the amount demanded vary in accordance with the prosperity of the country Cornwallis made the mistake of fixing the amount paid by zemindars instead of letting it vary This " Permanent Settlement " of Bengal prevented the Government from obtaining more revenue as the prosperity of the country increased But it left the zemindars free to extract as much more as they chose from the peasants The loss to the Government therefore benefited only a small section of the native population

WELLESLEY'S POLICY OF CONQUEST

Pitt's Act had forbidden interference with native states but the hostility of Tipu Sahib, the ruler of Mysore, forced Cornwallis to disregard it Tipu was a warlike Mahommedan, who hoped to make himself ruler of southern India With the help of native allies, Cornwallis took his capital, Seringapatam, and forced him to surrender half of Mysore (1791-2) This led Tipu to intrigue with the French, then the enemies of Britain in the Revolutionary War, and other native rulers followed Tipu's example French officers were sent to train and organise the armies of states under French influence, and, in 1798, Napoleon landed in Egypt and was known to be planning Eastern conquests that included India

But in 1798 Richard Wellesley, Lord Mornington, afterwards created Marquess Wellesley, became Governor-General. Wellesley was, by taste, an empire-builder, and deliberately aimed at British supremacy over India. He used French intrigues and Napoleon's schemes as an excuse for abandoning Pitt's policy of non-interference, and set himself to bring India under British control.

Wellesley's first task was to subdue the native rulers of southern India. In 1799 he defeated and killed Tipu Sahib and restored Mysore to the Hindu rajahs who had been driven out by Tipu's predecessor, Haidar Ali. He made the new ruler of Mysore accept a "subsidiary alliance" with Britain. This meant that he was to be protected by a British army, for which he was to pay, and the foreign policy of the state was to be under British control. This kind of treaty, which left a native ruler to govern his own province but brought him effectively under British influence, became the basis of British control over many Indian states.

Wellesley's next expansion of British territory was in northern India, at the expense of Oudh, the neighbour of Bengal and the oldest ally of the Company. Oudh was in a state of anarchy, so Wellesley took the opportunity to persuade its ruler to accept a new treaty of subsidiary alliance, which brought his state completely under British influence. He was also led to hand over the greater part of his territory to the Company (1801). The provinces thus annexed by the Company bordered upon Bengal, and became known as the North-west Provinces.

The Company was now the ruling power in southern and north-eastern India, but central India remained in the hands of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas were not united into a single state, but were a confederacy of independent princes under the nominal leadership of a potentate, known as the "Peshwa," whose capital was at Poona. In 1802 the Mahratta princes drove out the Peshwa, who turned to the British for help. Wellesley saw a chance of bringing central India under his control, and persuaded the Peshwa to accept a subsidiary alliance in the Treaty of Bassein. He then sent his brother, Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, to restore him. The Mahrattas were defeated by Arthur Wellesley at Assaye and Argaum, and by Lake at Delhi and Laswari. In 1805, the authorities in London, made nervous by the way in which their responsibilities

in India were being increased, recalled Wellesley, and the conquest of the Mahrattas was not completed

Wellesley's achievements had been great In a few years he had made the British masters of southern and north-eastern India, and had also managed the colossal task of re-organising the administration of his new provinces The British refusal to complete the conquest of the Mahrattas meant that the struggle with them had to be fought out later

NEPAL, BURMA, AND THE MAHRATTAS

After the recall of Wellesley the policy of extending British power in India was abandoned for a time Also, in 1815, the East India Company's monopoly was taken away and Indian trade was thrown open to all-comers

The British policy of inaction had unfortunate results Bengal was raided by the Gurkhas, and other states under British protection by Mahrattas and Pindaris When the British failed to protect their allies, Indian respect for them decreased Since the British were comparatively few in India, and their power rested less upon their real strength than on their reputation for invincibility, this loss of native respect was a serious matter

Lord Hastings (1813-1822), the next important Governor-General after Wellesley, realised this, and abandoned the policy of inaction for new conquests He dealt first with the Gurkhas, who lived in the mountainous state of Nepal, on the northern border of Bengal War in such mountainous country was difficult, but the Gurkhas were at last overcome Nepal was left independent, and the Gurkhas promised friendship to Britain (1815) The promise has been loyally kept. Hastings then completed the conquest of the Mahrattas Their nominal ruler, the Peshwa, was dethroned, and treaties were made with the Mahratta princes and with the Rajput chiefs who had been under their control. This made the British masters of central India British supremacy now extended over all India, except the north-western lands beyond the Indus

Hasting's successor, Amherst (1823-28), made war on Burma, whose rulers were hostile to British merchants He conquered Assam and the Burmese coast, so that the English now controlled both shores of the Bay of Bengal

BENTINCK'S REFORMS

Hastings was not only a conqueror, he improved Indian administration, and tried to understand and conciliate the Indians This side of his policy was carried on by Amherst's successor, Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835) Moreover, in the Act which renewed the charter of the East India Company (1833) all posts in the Company's service were thrown open to Indians The principle was laid down that India ought to be governed in the interests of the natives rather than of Europeans, and that a uniform code of law should be drawn up for India The East India Company, which had already lost its trading monopoly, was forbidden to trade at all, and became solely a political body

To carry out the codification of Indian law demanded by the Act, a Legal Member was added to the Council This post was given to the Whig historian, Macauley. While in India, Macauley became Chairman of the Committee on Education, and the Minute he produced on the subject had an important effect on the future of India. It was now to be decided whether the British should support education of the Indians on Eastern or Western lines The great number of languages existing in India made it impossible for Indians to be educated in their native tongue, and Macauley's Minute turned the scale in favour of the use of English in education, instead of Arabic or Sanscrit An English education inevitably meant the spread of western ideas in India, and so had important consequences

Bentinck also did good work in repressing the Hindu practices of suttee and thuggee "Suttee" was the suicide of a widow at the funeral pyre of her husband. The "thugs" was a sect who placed murder and robbery among their religious duties The British had always been reluctant to stir up trouble by interfering with the religious practices of India, but the repression of these customs met with little opposition

AFGHANISTAN AND SINDH

Britain was now the paramount power in India almost as far west as the Indus, but the valley of the Indus itself was occupied by independent states On the lower Indus was Sindh, ruled by a number of Mohammedan "Mirs," or chieftains The region of the upper Indus and its tributaries, the Punjab, or

"Land of Five Rivers," was ruled by the Sikhs, a religious sect Their leader, Ranjit Singh, had organised an efficient army under European officers, and had established Sikh control over an Hindu and Mohammedan population. Beyond these states, and controlling the mountain passes into India at the only corner where its northern mountain barrier could be crossed by an invader, lay Afghanistan.

British relations with these warlike states had been friendly, and might have remained so if the Russians had not been extending their dominions in central Asia, and approaching nearer and nearer to India. Afghanistan was the gateway to India, and the British feared that the Afghans might fall under Russian influence and that the Russians might organise a Mohammedan revolt in India against British supremacy The British dealt unwisely with the situation They first neglected it till the Russians had established their influence in Afghanistan, and then tried to force a new ruler, favourable to Britain, upon the warlike Afghans A British force was wiped out by the Afghans in the narrow Khyber Pass (1842), and though Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan was taken later, the British wisely realised that their attempt to coerce the Afghans had failed, and withdrew from the country.

This failure was a severe blow to British prestige in India, and the Afghan war also led to trouble with Sindh, some of whose towns had been seized and occupied as military bases Determined to restore the British reputation for invincibility, Sir Charles Napier used an attack made on the British residency at Hyderabad as an excuse for conquering Sindh, and the state was annexed Public opinion in England was so opposed to this policy of annexation that the Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough was recalled

DALHOUSIE'S ANNEXATIONS AND INNOVATIONS

The annexation of Sindh was followed by trouble with its neighbours, the Sikhs of the Punjab After the death of its leader, Ranjit Singh, their army had fallen into disorder, and began to make raids into British territory The struggle with the Sikhs was a long one After their country had been conquered by General Gough, they revolted against the army of occupation left there After a second conquest the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) decided to annex the

Punjab. It was so well administered by the brothers, John and Henry Lawrence, that the Sikhs soon became reconciled to British rule, and remained loyal after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny (1857).

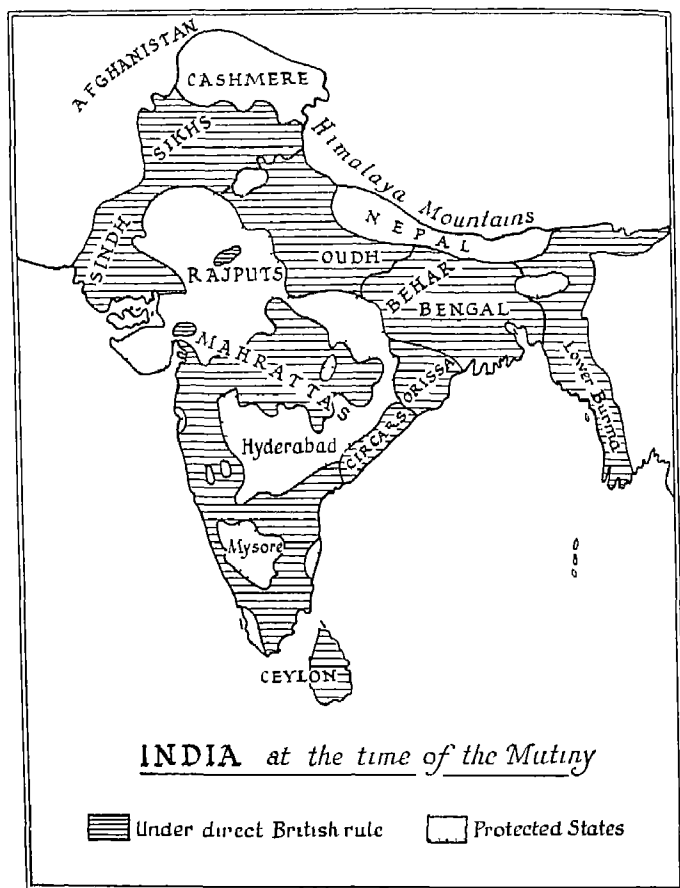
Lord Dalhousie was one of the most energetic British rulers of India. He was determined that India should be well-governed, and swept aside the rights of native rulers when he felt that they stood in the way of efficient government. He also introduced western improvements. His work benefited the people of India, but it was carried out without sufficient attention to their rights and prejudices. Native rulers became alarmed, while the people began to fear an attack on their religion. In this way Dalhousie's policy helped to cause the Indian Mutiny.

Many of the native states under British protection were misgoverned by their Indian rulers, and Dalhousie did not hesitate to use legal arguments to bring such states under direct British control. His argument was that the British had succeeded the Mogul emperors as overlords of India, and that when a native ruler died without a heir his state passed automatically under British control. It was customary for Indian princes who had no heir to adopt one, but, in states which had been misgoverned, Dalhousie refused to permit this. In this way he annexed eight native states, while Oudh was taken into British hands on the sole excuse of misgovernment.

This policy tended to make all Indian rulers feel insecure. They began to suspect that Britain, who had respected their rights, was beginning a career of unlimited conquest and annexation. Dalhousie's improvements also ran counter to many Indian prejudices. He began the work of opening out the country by roads and railways, introduced the telegraph, and made irrigation canals.

THE INDIAN MUTINY

The introduction of the telegraph helped to save British authority in India at the time of the Mutiny (1857-1858). The Indian Mutiny was a military revolt, not a national rising. Its immediate cause was the discontent of the Indian troops (sepoys) employed by the British. These sepoys were badly paid, and their religious prejudices had not been sufficiently considered

To many Indians the western improvements introduced by Dalhousie seemed to be a threat to their religion The introduction of a new rifle, in which greased cartridges were used (1857) caused a legend that the British were trying to attack Indian religions by polluting their soldiers through the use of the fat of pigs, which the Mohammedans considered unclean, and of cows, which were sacred to the Hindus Dalhousie's annexations and various private grievances led some Indian rulers to support

THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1857-1858

the Mutiny, but there was no national rising Serious rebellion was confined to the upper Ganges valley, spreading later to central India

In March, 1857, there was trouble with the sepoys at Barrackpur, near Calcutta But the Mutiny did not really begin till May, when three native regiments stationed at Meerut, in the North-west Provinces killed their officers and captured Delhi The telegraph now did important work in making the mutiny in the North-west Provinces known to the British in other parts of India The revolt spread along the Ganges valley, and at Cawnpore, the Nana Sahib, who was the heir of the Peshwa deposed by the British in 1818, avenged himself by massacring the British garrison and the women and children who belonged to it In central India the Nana Sahib was proclaimed Peshwa by some of the Mahrattas, but the chief centres of trouble continued to be in the north, at Delhi in the North-west Provinces, and at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, where the British were besieged by a large army of mutineers

Fortunately for Britain, most of the Indian states remained loyal, for it would have been quite impossible for the small British force in India to stamp out a wide-spread revolt Before the end of 1857, John Nicholson, the able ruler of the Punjab, had re-captured Delhi, though he himself was killed in the struggle The relief of Lucknow, the other centre of revolt, took a long time Havelock had marched there after first taking Cawnpore, which was captured two days after the massacre, but Havelock's forces were small, and he found himself shut up in Lucknow by the besiegers The city finally was relieved by Sir Colin Campbell in 1858 After this, Oudh and the North-west Provinces were soon re-conquered, while Sir Hugh Rose subdued the Mahrattas

THE INDIA ACT OF 1858

The worst feature of the Mutiny was the ferocious cruelty practised by both English and Indians In England there was a demand for the punishment of the rebels, but the Governor-General, Lord Canning, acted with a wise leniency that helped the country to settle down again under English rule A result of the Mutiny was the abolition of the East India Company, whose trading activities had first established British power in India In 1858 a new India Act was passed, which dissolved the

Company, and brought India under the direct control of the Crown

A Secretary of State for India was established At the same time a proclamation was issued which promised that Britain would respect the rights of native princes, afford equal protection to all religions, and open official posts to all subjects of the Crown, whatever their religion or race This last promise was not put into practice, for the Mutiny had temporarily destroyed English confidence in the loyalty of India, and English government became more despotic India was administered by officials, and the realisation of Indian ideals of self-government was postponed for many years

CHAPTER XLVI

THE CRIMEAN WAR

TURKEY AND THE BALKANS

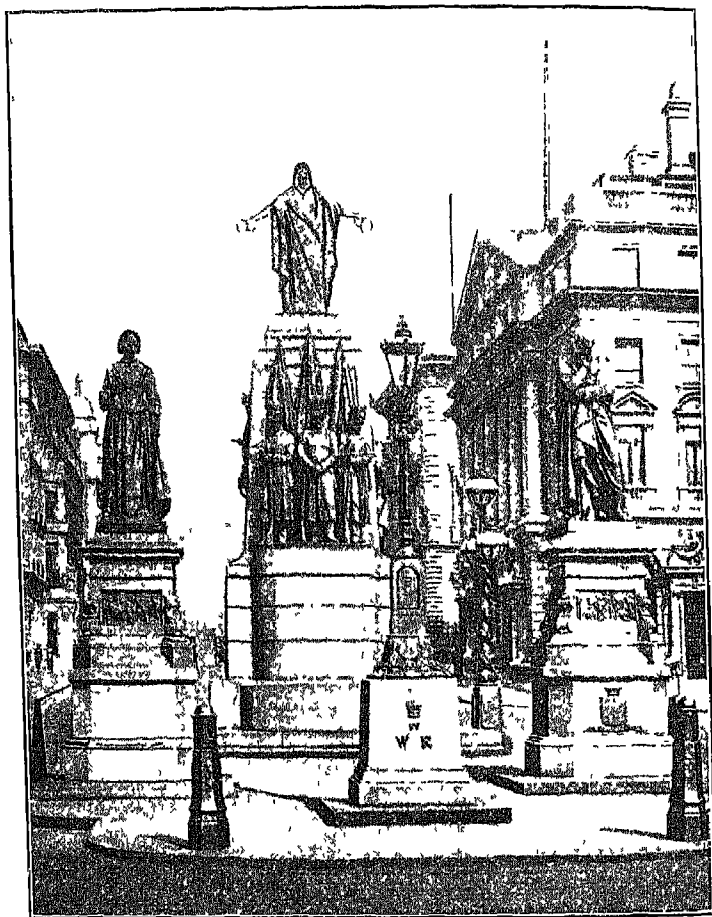
The Crimean War arose out of the unsettled state of the Balkans It was a war at once costly and futile The settlement of the Eastern Question which ended it did not prove lasting, but the struggle is important for its effect upon European international relations

The relations of Turkey with her Christian subjects in the Balkans constantly troubled European statesmen during the nineteenth century The idea of Christians under Mohammedan rule was unpalatable to Christian Europe Normally Turkish rule was little more than a military occupation, coupled with a demand for the payment of taxes But the Turks were apt to resort to cruelty and massacre when some rising or conspiracy threatened their authority This ferocity was partly due to their weakness, for the Turkish empire was disorganised, and seemed to be on the verge of breaking up

Turkish control of the Balkans was threatened by the desire of some of the Balkan races for independence Greece had already become free, and the Roumanians of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Serbs, and the Montenegrins, had obtained some degree of self-government If the question had been solely one of Balkan independence, the other European powers might either have stood aside, and let the Turks and their subjects fight out their differences, or they might have united in securing freedom for the Balkan Christians But such a solution was prevented by fear of the extension of Russian power in the Near East So Europe was concerned not only with the fate of the Balkans, but also with the best means of checking Russian influence there

RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN THE BALKANS

Apart from any desire to increase her own power, Russia had special reasons for interest in the Balkan races Most of them, like the Russians, were Slavs, and most of them, like Russia, belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, of which the

Russian Czar was the acknowledged head By the eighteenth century Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainaidji Turkey had made promises to Russia regarding her Christian subjects upon which Russia based a claim to be their Protector. Turkey never agreed to this, for to do so would have meant granting Russia almost unlimited power to interfere in her internal affairs Nevertheless, Russia encouraged the Christians of the Balkans to rely on her support

CRIMEA MEMORIAL

The other European powers feared the extension of Russian influence in the Balkans and especially the possibility that the Russians might seize Constantinople The powers had various reasons for this attitude Austria had her own ambitions in the Balkans, and regarded Russia as her rival there France and England did not want Russia, by obtaining Constantinople, to become a Mediterranean sea-power and their rival for the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean In addition to this England felt that a Russian advance would threaten Egypt and the route to India This made England, during the nineteenth century, the leader of opposition to Russian policy in the Near East

BRITISH POLICY IN THE NEAR EAST

There was more than one means of checking Russian influence in the Balkans Canning's policy with regard to the struggle for Greek independence had shown that Britain and other nations might co-operate with Russia in supporting Balkan nations in their struggle for freedom This would have prevented Russia from appearing in the role of sole liberator and protector But Palmerston, instead of adopting this policy, had chosen to check Russia by supporting Turkey Even when the Sultan, threatened by the conquests of his vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, turned to Russia for help, Palmerston refused to support the dismemberment of Turkey He bullied the European powers into confining Mehemet's authority to Egypt once more, and checked Russian influence over Turkey by the Convention of the Straits (1841) This forbade foreign warships to pass the Dardanelles, thus cutting off the Russian fleet from the Mediterranean

The Czar Nicholas did not wish his policy in the Near East to bring him into conflict with Britain He had no intention of abandoning his claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan but he believed that the Turkish empire, weak and disorganised as it was, was on the verge of breaking up Twice (1844 and 1853) he proposed to the British that they should abandon their policy of supporting the Turks, and make agreement with Russia for the division of the Turkish empire Such an agreement would have safeguarded Egypt, and would have rendered the Crimean War unnecessary, though the partition would probably have been more to the advantage of Russia

than of England British statesmen, however, neither trusted Russia, nor believed that the Turkish empire was about to fall. They continued the Palmerstonian policy of supporting the Turks

THE CUSTODY OF THE HOLY PLACES

The Czar not only claimed to be the Protector of the Balkan Christians, but also of the Greek Orthodox Church in Palestine which was under Turkish rule In Palestine, the Christians of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches quarrelled continually over the custody of the Holy Places, with the Mohammedan Turks acting as umpires between them Since France, from the time of the Crusades had claimed to be the protector of the Catholics in the Holy Land, the quarrels of the two Churches there were liable to involve their protectors, France and Russia

In 1853, the Czar's attempts at an agreement with Britain failed, and he demanded that Turkey should acknowledge his right to protect her Christian subjects, and should make concessions to the Greek Orthodox Church in Palestine These demands were certain to annoy both Britain and France, but the Turks might have evaded them by diplomatic concessions, if the Sultan had not been under the influence of the British ambassador. Sir Stratford Canning was pro-Turk and anti-Russian, and was a resourceful man who was inclined to pursue his own policy without paying much attention to the wishes of the government at home He promised the Sultan British support, and persuaded him, while making concessions about the Holy Places, to deny the Czar's right to protect the Balkan Christians

RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA

The Czar retaliated by occupying the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the Danube (1853) For England to have permitted this would have been to abandon her whole policy of maintaining Turkey against Russia. France, where Louis Napoleon had just become Emperor as Napoleon III (1852), had a variety of motives for opposing Russia. The new Emperor desired to increase his popularity by successes abroad The dispute in Palestine had roused Catholic feeling Also it

was necessary to guard French trading interests in the Mediterranean and the Near East.

But France and England hesitated and lost the best moment for rapid and effective interference. They referred the whole matter to a Conference at Vienna, which issued a Note to suggest that Turkey should make certain concessions. The Czar accepted the Note, but the Sultan, probably under the influence of Canning, whose share in the matter is not, even now, clearly known, refused the terms suggested and prepared for war.

In spite of the Convention of the Straits (1841), which forbade foreign warships to enter the Dardanelles, France and England sent their fleets as "moral support" for Turkey. Soon after their arrival the Russians destroyed a Turkish squadron at Sinope (1853). English public opinion inflamed by the influence of Palmerston and the newspapers, regarded this naval action as if it were an atrocity, dubbing it the "Massacre of Sinope". A declaration of war on Russia by France and England followed, and the Crimean War had begun.

THE WAR IN THE PRINCIPALITIES

The Crimean War did not begin in the Crimea, but in the Turkish principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which had been occupied by Russia. Since the French and English armies had not yet appeared on the scene, the task of driving out the Russians fell to the Turks. But they were not entirely without support, for the Principalities were on the border of the Austrian empire, and Austria had no intention of allowing them to fall into Russian hands. Although Austria did not take part in the war, it was her threatening attitude, rather than the Turkish army, that was responsible for the rapidity with which the Russians withdrew (1854).

ATTACK ON THE CRIMEA

The Russians having been driven out of the Principalities, a settlement might have been reached without further fighting. But France and England had despatched armies to the Balkans, and public opinion was inflamed. They were not inclined to make peace till the Russians had been defeated and forced to renounce their claim to interfere in Turkish affairs. They therefore sought for a point at which to attack Russia, and selected

the fort of Sebastopol, at the southern end of the Crimean peninsula, which divides the Sea of Azov from the Black Sea.

Sebastopol had many advantages as a point of attack Its capture would end Russian control of the Black Sea, and would be a severe blow to Russian naval power Moreover, the Allied armies could carry on a war in the Crimea while maintaining their naval communications with France and England Though there was little sea-fighting in the Crimean war, the Allies used their navies as the basis of their military operations.

Neither the French nor the English army produced a general of marked ability during the Crimean war At first the English were commanded by Lord Raglan, who had fought at Waterloo Though he had been a good soldier in his youth, he was too old to adjust himself easily to new conditions of warfare He was, however, more capable than the French general, Marshal St Arnaud

The English military authorities were old-fashioned in their methods and ideas, and surprisingly little alteration had taken place in military training or equipment since the Napoleonic war Organisation was bad, and the Allies lost all the advantages they might have gained by rapid action The only leader who in any way distinguished himself in the war was the Russian commander of Sebastopol, Todleben

SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL BALACLAVA AND INKERMAN

The English, French, and Turkish armies landed at Eupatoria, in the Crimea, in September, 1854 Their landing-place was to the north of Sebastopol The river Alma, which lay between them and the fortress, was held by a Russian army under Menschikov In the Battle of the Alma (1854) the Russians were defeated and an immediate advance would have taken Sebastopol, whose defences were weak But St Arnaud refused to move his troops till they had rested, so the opportunity was lost. When an advance was made, the Allies decided to abandon the attack from the north altogether, and to march round to the south of the city Difficult country had to be negotiated, and this meant a great deal of delay, which gave the Russian commander, Todleben, time to strengthen his defences As a result Sebastopol withstood the Allied attack for a year

Gooch

BALACLAVA
The Charge of the Light Brigade

When they moved their army to the south of Sebastopol, the Allies had left no force to blockade it on the north and the Russians were able to send troops and provisions into the fort at will. There could therefore be no attempt to starve out the defenders. The Allied method of attack was the uninspired one of direct assault. The defences of Sebastopol were bombarded with the object of weakening them till they could be stormed and captured. These tactics kept the Allied armies encamped before Sebastopol throughout the long and severe Russian winter, and imposed a heavy strain upon Allied resources in man-power and wealth.

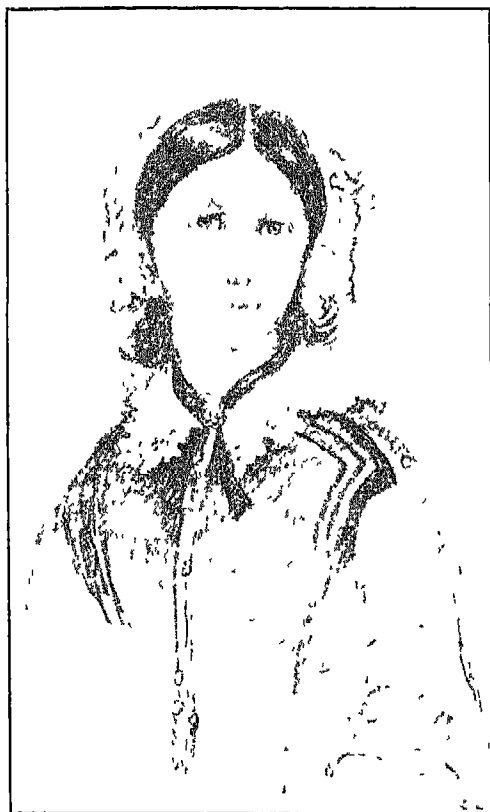
Nor were the besiegers themselves immune from attack. Menschikov's army occupied the hilly country in the east of the Crimea, and was able both to harass the Allied armies, and to threaten their communications with their naval base. The British naval base was at Balaclava, and an attempt by Menschikov to seize it resulted in the long and difficult Battle of Balaclava (1854), in which the Allies were victorious only after they had almost suffered defeat. This battle saw the famous charge of the Light Brigade, in which British cavalry, owing to a blunder, charged the Russian batteries, and were saved from complete destruction only by an opportune charge by the French. The blunder arose out of mismanagement of the type that characterised the whole campaign.

Before the end of the year, Menschikov made another attack on the Allies near Mount Inkerman. The Battle of Inkerman has been nicknamed the "soldiers' battle". A fog prevented the generals from controlling their troops properly, and the issue was decided by the fighting of the ordinary soldiers, dependent upon their own initiative. This second Russian attempt to relieve Sebastopol was defeated, and the siege continued.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

The suffering of the troops during the long siege were terrible. Mismanagement at home kept them short of supplies. The bitter winter and the cholera that broke out among them killed more men than the Russians, and threatened to weaken the English forces till they were insufficient for the campaign. At first there was no proper care for the sick and wounded. The hospitals were filthy and overcrowded, and the medical stores

insufficient But before the end of the year (1854) Florence Nightingale offered to go to the Crimea to nurse the wounded, and managed to persuade the War Office to accept her services

She re-organised the hospitals, introduced cleanliness and fresh air, and saw that the sick and wounded were properly

Gooch

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

nursed The military authorities whose incompetence had caused the abuses she remedied, nevertheless hampered her as much as they could, but she was strong-minded and able to succeed in spite of opposition After the war her influence

led to a permanent reform of the treatment of sick and wounded in the British army

PALMERSTON'S ADMINISTRATION

The English newspapers, which, by inflaming public opinion against Russia, had helped to bring about the war, now did good service in exposing the state of affairs in the Crimea They denounced the mismanagement of the war both by the government at home and by the generals in command of the army They made known the lack of supplies, the sufferings of the soldiers, and all the horrors of the campaign The result was a wave of popular indignation that led to the fall of the Aberdeen ministry (1852-1855) But since the Conservatives could not obtain a majority, the Whigs (Liberals) had to remain in power, and the change was one of ministry, not of party

The nation had no doubt about whom it wanted for Prime Minister Palmerston was extraordinarily popular The nation had tremendous confidence in him, and had enjoyed his high-handed methods of bullying Europe They believed him to be competent, energetic, and determined to uphold English prestige So there was a clamour for Palmerston to take control of affairs He became Prime Minister (1855) Prime Minister he remained save for one brief interval (1858-1859), till his death in 1865

Palmerston lived up to his reputation He infused energy into the administration of the war, and the army was soon well supplied with necessaries During the spring (1855) the Allies were joined by Sardinia, whose Prime Minister, Cavour, hoped, by sending troops to the Crimea, to secure Allied support for the cause of Italian unity But in spite of minor successes, and the defeat of another Russian attack in the Battle of the Tchernaya (1855), the siege of Sebastopol dragged on until September Then, though a British attack on one of the forts of its defences, the Redan, failed, the French captured another of them, the Malakoff, which commanded the city, and the Russians were at last driven out

The capture of Sebastopol was in no way decisive, and the war might have continued if the countries concerned had not been weary of it. Nor did it cease immediately, for in Asia Minor the Russians captured the fortress of Kars from the Turks But the aggressive Nicholas I. had died during the siege, and his

successor, Alexander II, wanted peace In 1856 the Peace of Paris ended the war

PEACE OF PARIS AND RESULTS OF THE WAR

By the Peace of Paris (1856) the Allies gained the objects for which they had fought, but the gain was not lasting Turkey was acknowledged to be an independent power, with whose internal affairs no other nation had the right to interfere, and Russia abandoned her claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were

QUEEN VICTORIA DISTRIBUTING THE CRIMEAN MEDALS

to be self-governing, but under Turkish suzerainty. The Black Sea was declared neutral No power was to maintain a military or naval establishment on its shores, and only Turkish warships were to be allowed to pass the Dardanelles

This settlement of the Eastern Question did not prove permanent It could only last so long as France and Britain were prepared to uphold it by force It was certain that Turkey would meet with new revolts in the Balkans, and that the Balkan nations would appeal to Russia for help Actually the Balkan war of the seventies swept aside the Treaty of Paris, and the Eastern Question had to be dealt with again

But if the Crimean War failed to bring about a settlement of the Eastern Question, it had important and lasting effects upon European relations. It lowered the prestige of France and England, and weakened the Russian government. The Russian despotism had seemed to be very strong. It had remained stable while the revolutionary outbreaks of the first half of the nineteenth century shook the other governments of Europe. Its defeat in the Crimean War led to criticism and dissatisfaction in Russia that was the beginning of popular agitation for reform.

The French successes of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had caused Europe to fear and respect the fighting power of France, even after she had been defeated. She was, and had been, since the seventeenth century, the foremost military nation in Europe. England was in the first place a sea-power, but, since the Peninsula war and the Waterloo campaign English military prestige had also stood high. The blundering and mismanagement of the Crimean War, the incompetence of the generals, and the old-fashioned equipment and tactics of the armies concerned, lowered French and British prestige. Prussia was emboldened to adopt the policy that ended in the Franco-Prussian war, and Palmerston no longer found it easy to force his policy upon other nations by the threat of British hostility.

CHAPTER XLVII

NATIONAL UNITY AND NEW SYSTEMS OF ALLIANCE

THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT AND ITALY

Except for the establishment of the kingdoms of Greece and Belgium the European system of states had at the end of the Crimean war (1856), remained practically unaltered since the Treaty of Vienna (1814). But during the next fifteen years the Vienna settlement was completely upset by the unification of Italy and Germany. Great Britain had little to do with the events that brought about this change, but it had important effects upon her policy. It was followed by the grouping of European states into rival alliances that brought about the Great War (1914).

The aim of the Congress of Vienna had been to ensure that the great European powers regained about the same amount of territory and influence as they had had before the struggle with Napoleon. Austria had been compensated for the loss of the Austrian Netherlands by the grant of additional territory in Italy. This made her the most important power in the Italian peninsula.

The Vienna settlement left Italy still divided into a number of states. In the north were Lombardy and Venetia, which had been given to Austria, and Piedmont, which formed a part of the kingdom of Sardinia under the rule of the House of Savoy. In central Italy were the states of the Church, ruled over by the Pope, the Grand-duchy of Tuscany, and some other smaller states. In the south was the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, ruled by Ferdinand of Bourbon. The government of all these Italian states was despotic, and all the Italian rulers, except the Pope and the King of Sardinia, were under the influence of the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich.

METTERNICH SYSTEM LIBERAL MOVEMENTS

Metternich's system was one of despotism and repression His object was to stamp out the liberal and nationalist ideals which had spread through Europe after the French Revolution The re-organisation of Italy by Napoleon had had its effect, and secret societies were formed to work for Italian unity In 1820 and 1830 there were risings in some of the Italian states But Austria was always willing to assist the ruler of any Italian state to crush a demand for constitutional government, and Italian liberals and patriots were cruelly repressed It was not until the "Year of Revolutions" (1848), brought about the fall of Metternich that any real progress towards Italian unity could be made

This stern repression forced Italian liberalism and nationalism to become secret and revolutionary Secret societies like the "Carbonari" were formed and Mazzini, whose writings spread the ideal of a united Italy, preached the overthrow of the existing governments and the establishment of a free Italian republic A programme like this alarmed the moderate liberals who wanted constitutional government, and hoped to find a leader against Austria among the rulers of the Italian states In 1846 such a leader seemed to have appeared in the person of the new Pope, Pius IX, whose sympathies were liberal and who granted a constitution to the papal states But Pius had no intention of leading a crusade against Austria The revolutionary outbreaks of 1848 alarmed him, and he abandoned the Italian liberals altogether.

In 1848 Italy, like the rest of Europe, was swept by a wave of revolution Constitutions were granted by the rulers of Naples, Tuscany and Piedmont The Austrians were driven out of Lombardy and Venetia, and Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia and Piedmont, was persuaded to declare war on Austria as the leader of the nationalist movement in Italy At the same time Mazzini seized Rome and established a republic there

But the end was disastrous The Austrian government, temporarily overthrown by revolution in all its provinces, recovered rapidly The champions of Italian unity were hesitating and disunited. Charles Albert was defeated at Custozza (1848) and Novara (1849), and abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel Austrian power was restored in Italy and the rulers of the Italian states revoked the constitutions they had granted In Rome the Pope was restored by the French

CAVOUR, GARIBALDI, AND VICTOR EMMANUEL

The liberal and national movement had gained a great deal by obtaining the support and leadership of the House of Savoy, the rulers of Sardinia and Piedmont The new king, Victor Emmanuel, maintained the liberal constitution granted to his subjects by his father, and took Count Cavour for his minister Cavour was mistrusted by Mazzini and his followers who still

GARIBALDI

aimed at an Italian republic, not a constitutional monarchy, and whose methods remained revolutionary. But he had the confidence of the moderates in Italy, and outside he used his skilful diplomacy to obtain foreign support for the cause of Italian unity.

Cavour attracted the attention of Europe to his country by sending Sardinian troops to support France and England in the Crimean war. In this way he obtained a chance to air Italian grievances at the peace conference. He was angling for the assistance of the liberal French emperor, Napoleon III, who finally promised him French help if Austria should attack Piedmont (1858). Cavour's next task was to ensure that Piedmont should be attacked by Austria before Napoleon, who was changeable, lost interest in Italy. This required delicate management, but in 1859 his skill was rewarded, Austria declared war on Piedmont. France came to the rescue, and the Austrians were defeated at Magenta and Solferino. Napoleon became the hero of Italy, but he disappointed Italian hopes by suddenly making peace with Austria at Villafranca.

By this peace Austria gave up Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel, but, instead of being driven out of Italy altogether, she retained Venetia. Nevertheless, Austrian influence over the smaller Italian states had been shattered, and the states of central Italy united with Piedmont to form an Italian kingdom (1860). During the same year, a leader of irregular troops, Garibaldi, landed in Sicily with a thousand men, and, with the help of the people of Sicily and Naples, the Bourbon ruler of the kingdom of Naples was driven out. Although Garibaldi had acted on his own initiative, he asked nothing for himself, and Sicily and Naples joined the new Italian kingdom.

Events had moved so rapidly that two years had seen the establishment of united Italy, governed by Victor Emmanuel as a constitutional monarch. But Venetia was still under Austrian rule, and the Papal states remained independent of the Italian kingdom. The Pope was supported by French troops, and Italy was not prepared to challenge France, though Napoleon had lost Italian gratitude for his assistance by demanding the cession of Savoy and Nice in return for it. Relations between France and Italy became cool, and when Italy obtained Venetia from Austria (1866), it was as the ally of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian war. The Franco-Prussian war (1870) caused the withdrawal of the

French troops from Rome, and Victor Emmanuel was able to add the Papal states to his kingdom.

RIVALRY OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Germany was divided into more than three hundred independent states, loosely united into the Holy Roman Empire But the conquests of Napoleon led to re-organisation The Hapsburg emperor resigned, taking, as ruler of his own territories, most of which lay outside Germany, the title of Emperor of Austria, and the Holy Roman Empire disappeared Numbers of petty states were abolished and western Germany was united in the Confederation of the Rhine

The Congress of Vienna abolished the Rhine Confederation, but it did not restore the little states swept away by Napoleon It re-divided Germany on the lines that seemed best to it, and the result was a federation of thirty-nine independent states Two of these, Austria and Prussia, were European "great powers" They were so much more important than the other German states that one or the other of them was certain some day to become predominant in Germany So the struggle for the unification of Germany was also a struggle for leadership between Prussia and Austria

Until her position had been weakened by the revolutions of 1848, Austria was the leading power in Germany, But under Austrian leadership Germany could never have become a nation, for the Austrian empire was a patch work of states of different nationalities Even during the period of Austrian influence Prussia was gradually paving the way for German unity under her own leadership by inducing the German states to join her customs union, the "Zollverein"

THE GERMAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Prussia was a military state, and her government was as despotic as that of Austria But it was an enlightened despotism, which secured the support of its subjects by efficient government and by necessary reforms Its statesmen spread Prussian influence through the German states by means of the Zollverein, and a nationalist movement for German unity under Prussian

leadership developed. In 1848, the "year of revolutions," this movement came to a head. A German Parliament was set up at Frankfort and the King of Prussia was invited to become German emperor. But Frederick William IV of Prussia was not equal to the task of uniting Germany, and he refused the German crown. The nationalist movement lost its force, the revolutions that had broken out in Germany and Austria were crushed, and Austria seemed once more to be supreme in Germany.

NAPOLEON III AND BISMARCK

The failure of the revolutionary movements of 1848 left the German governments as despotic as before. But a strong liberal party existed in Prussia, and its victory in the elections of 1861 threatened to force the new king, William, to make his ministers responsible to Parliament. The new Prussian king, though not brilliant, was obstinate, clear-minded, and strongly opposed to Liberalism. He took the risk of ignoring the popular demand and appointing Count Bismarck as his chief minister. Bismarck restored the authority of the government, and Prussia maintained her traditional character as a despotic, military state.

THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR UNION OF GERMANY

Bismarck next undertook the task of uniting Germany under Prussian leadership He saw that Austria was much less strong than she appeared to be, while the Prussian army had been developed by men like Roon and Moltke into the most efficient military force in Europe Bismarck's object was to pick a quarrel with Austria in order to defeat and humiliate her To do this he took the roundabout method of uniting with Austria in taking the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark

These duchies, of which Schleswig was peopled by Danes and Holstein by Germans, were under the rule of the Danish king, but were not a part of Denmark When the King of Denmark died the succession to the duchies was disputed, and Prussia and Austria interfered, demanding the duchies from Denmark on behalf of a German claimant Palmerston had led Denmark to expect British support, but it was not given and the duchies fell under Austrian and Prussian control (1864) Bismarck then found it easy to quarrel with Austria over their fate, and in the Austro-Prussian war (1866), which lasted only a few weeks, Austria was beaten at Sadowa

In this war Prussia had Italian support and Austria was forced to give up Venetia to Italy More important was her loss of prestige in Germany, which led the northern states of Germany to unite in the North German Confederation under Prussian leadership

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

England's attitude towards the Prussian success was a friendly one, but France saw with alarm the prospect of a united Germany on her borders She had missed the opportunity of checking Prussia by supporting Austria, and she now made it her business to oppose Bismarck's policy of persuading the south German states to join a united Germany. But Napoleon III made the mistake of suggesting to Bismarck that France should cease to oppose Prussian control of southern Germany in return for an extension of the French frontier to the Rhine By publishing these proposals and his refusal of them, Bismarck was able to appear as the champion of German unity, and to cause the south German states and the European powers to mistrust Napoleon

He then consolidated his position in Germany by alliances with the south German states and prepared for the war with France that was necessary before Germany could be united.

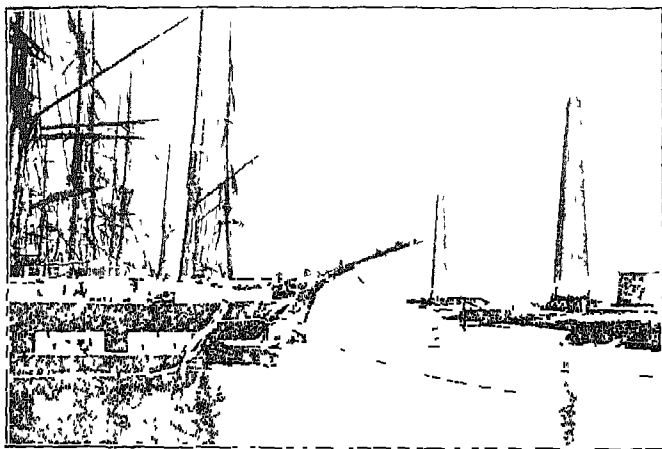
In 1870 a quarrel between France and Prussia arose over the succession to the Spanish throne. France was eager for war, and Bismarck managed to inflict the provocation of a diplomatic insult upon her. In the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1), France was defeated with astonishing speed and completeness, the Prussians winning a crushing victory at Sedan (1870). The defeat of France was followed by the union of Germany. The south German states joined the German Confederation, and the king of Prussia became Emperor of the Germans (1871). But Bismarck, with less than his usual wisdom, paved the way for another war by taking Alsace-Lorraine from France.

RE-OPENING OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

Bismarck had unified Germany by a series of wars, but, after the defeat of France, he needed a period of peace in which to consolidate the new German empire. So, in the "Three Emperors' League," he negotiated a friendly understanding with Russia and Austria-Hungary, as an insurance against possible hostility from France. There the Franco-Prussian war had led to the fall of Napoleon III and the establishment of the Third Republic. Then, during the seventies, Germany ceased to play a leading part in Europe, and the disturbing force in European politics became Russia. Her interference in the Balkans made a new settlement of the Eastern Question necessary.

Failure in the Crimean war had forced Russia to abandon her claim to protect the Christian subjects of Turkey, and to agree to the exclusion of her navy from the Black Sea. But Alexander II had no intention of accepting this settlement as final. In 1871 he quietly refused to consider the Black Sea as neutral. He found a new pretext for interfering in the Balkans by encouraging "Pan-Slavism," the movement for the freedom and unity of the Slav races of Europe. This movement was, like the struggles for Italian and German unity, caused by the nationalist ideals which played such an important part in nineteenth century Europe. Russia now became the champion of the Slav nations in the Balkans in their struggle for independence.

THE BULGARIAN MASSACRE AND BALKAN WAR

Greece was already independent, and Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro were partly so, but the rest of the Balkans were still completely under Turkish control Turkish rule was weak and inefficient, and taxation heavy In 1875 risings occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were followed by a revolt of the Bulgars The Turks put down the Bulgarian revolt without much difficulty, and punished it by a massacre of about twelve thousand people Public opinion in Europe was shocked, and

ENTRANCE TO THE SUEZ CANAL

The canal was opened in 1869 In 1875, Disraeli purchased the Khedive's shares in the canal on behalf of England

in the Balkans, the warlike Serbs and Montenegrins now made war upon Turkey (1876)

This Balkan war presented Great Britain with her old problem of checking the advance of Russia towards Constantinople After the Crimean war England had not played an important part in European affairs Palmerston had proved less successful in bullying European states than in his earlier days He had led the Poles in their revolt against Russia (1863), and the Danes, during the Schleswig-Holstein dispute (1864), to expect British support, which had not been given The result had been to persuade the European powers that British wishes

could safely be ignored. This opinion was strengthened when Gladstone's government made no protest when Russian warships, in defiance of the Treaty of Paris (1856), once more appeared on the Black Sea (1871)

But Disraeli (1874-1880), who became Lord Beaconsfield in 1876, was Prime Minister at the time of the Bulgarian atrocities and the Balkan war, and he was ready to adopt an energetic foreign policy Beaconsfield's imagination was attracted by the East, and by the British dominions in India In 1875 he had protected the route to India by buying the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, and he was convinced of the danger of Russian control of Constantinople Like most British statesmen of the nineteenth century he regarded support of the Turks as the best means of checking Russia

Disraeli's rival, Gladstone, took another view of the situation He maintained that Russia could be effectively checked by the establishment of independent states in the Balkans, which would be too jealous for their own freedom to fall under Russian influence The Bulgarian massacres led Gladstone to demand the expulsion of the Turks, but Beaconsfield did not permit them to affect his policy He argued that the seriousness of the outrage had been exaggerated and that Turkish government was much better than it was represented to be

RUSSIAN INTERVENTION TREATY OF SAN STEFANO

Beaconsfield made it clear that England was hostile to Russian interference in the Balkan war (1876) It was not till 1877, when a European conference had failed and the Serbians were in danger of being crushed by the Turks, that Alexander II went to the rescue Except for a check provided by the stubborn defence of Plevna, Russian success was easy and rapid Adrianople was captured and the Russians advanced within sight of Constantinople Turkey asked for peace, and Beaconsfield interfered by ordering a British fleet to Constantinople This move, by threatening a war between England and Russia, for which Russia lacked the resources, made it certain that the Russians would not seize the city Without attempting to enter Constantinople, the Russians concluded the Peace of San Stefano with Turkey (1878)

The Treaty of San Stefano added to the independence of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro, and created a large Bulgarian state to the south of Serbia and Rumania Russia's object was to increase her own influence, for she expected the new state would submit to her guidance Beaconsfield expected the same thing, and demanded the revision of the whole treaty by a European Congress

THE CONGRESS AND TREATY OF BERLIN

This Congress met at Berlin (1878), where Bismarck, explaining that Germany was impartial, offered to act as an

DISRAELI AND BISMARCK AT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE, 1878
A Conversation at the Kaiserhof Hotel

" honest broker " between the other powers Great Britain was represented by Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, but the real work of the Congress had already been done in secret negotiations between Britain and the other powers Rather ironically, the agreement between Britain and Russia got into the newspapers before the questions which it settled had been discussed by the Congress, which was supposed to decide them

The Treaty of Berlin (1878) divided the new Bulgarian state, created by the San Stefano treaty, into three parts Macedonia,

which was given back to Turkey, and Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, which were almost independent. At the same time Bosnia and Herzegovina, which adjoined Austro-Hungarian territory, and where the rebellion that led to the Bulgarian massacre had begun, were removed from Turkish control, and Austria-Hungary was permitted to occupy and administer them. Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania became completely independent. To counterbalance a Russian advance in Asia Minor, Britain obtained the right to administer Cyprus, in return for a promise to support Turkey if Russia should make war upon her. At the same time Turkey promised to reform.

The Treaty of Berlin was a diplomatic victory for Great Britain. She had managed, without going to war, to alter the San Stefano settlement of the Balkans, and to checkmate Russia. Beaconsfield claimed that he had secured "peace with honour," and the settlement was enthusiastically received in England. But the achievement was less brilliant than at first appeared. Events suggested that the large Bulgarian state of the San Stefano treaty would not have proved a centre of Russian influence in the Balkans, for the Bulgarians showed themselves hostile to Russian interference. When, in 1885, they upset the Berlin settlement by a union with Eastern Roumelia, the state invented by that treaty, England did not interfere. Cyprus did not prove the "key to Western Asia" that Beaconsfield expected. Also England stood committed to support a Turkey that steadily evaded all efforts to make her reform. Turkish misgovernment constantly led to trouble in Macedonia, and the Balkans remained a centre of unrest.

BISMARCK'S SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES

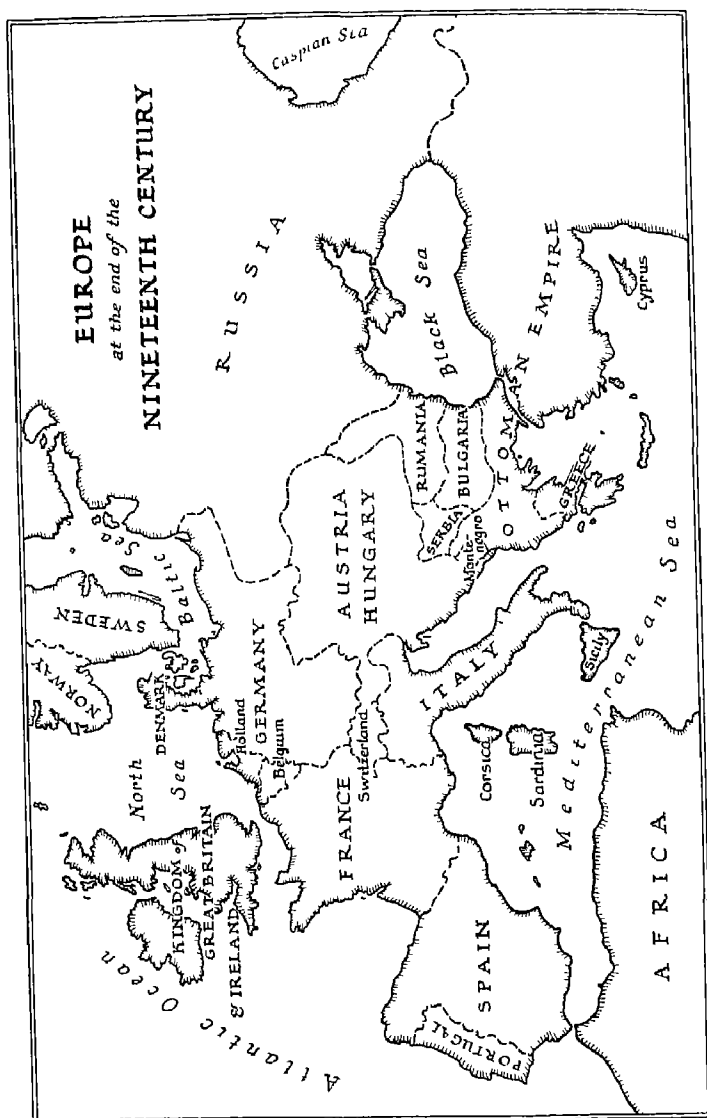
When France had been defeated in 1871, Bismarck annexed Alsace-Lorraine. This made the determination of France to recover these provinces a cause of permanent hostility between France and Germany. Bismarck's method of guarding against French hostility was to make alliances with other European powers. This policy led first to the establishment of a system of European alliances with Germany for its centre, and France and England left out. Then, after Bismarck's fall, France too began to seek allies, and two rival alliances developed, leading in the end to the outbreak of the Great War (1914).

In 1875 Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary had been loosely associated in the "Three Emperors' League." But Russia and Austria were rivals in the Balkans, and it was difficult for Germany to retain her friendship with both of them. Russia accused Bismarck of supporting Austrian interests at the Congress of Berlin (1878), and Germany gradually drew closer to Austria, while her friendship with Russia weakened. In 1879 Germany and Austria arranged a Dual Alliance. In 1882 they were joined by Italy, who had quarrelled with France over Tripoli, in a Triple Alliance. Meanwhile, though friendship with Russia had cooled, Bismarck skilfully managed to retain it, and even to strengthen it by what was nicknamed the "Reinsurance Treaty" of 1887. Relations between Germany and England were friendly and France was completely isolated.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND TRIPLE ENTENTE

To keep himself in such a favourable position as to retain the friendship of Europe, was a task that strained even Bismarck's ingenuity. In the end his juggling failed to keep the friendship both of Austria and Russia, and Russia began to draw away from Germany. After the accession of Emperor William II (1888), and the fall of Bismarck (1890), the breach became complete. Russia, now isolated in Europe, formed an alliance with France (1896). Instead of one system of alliances, with Germany for its centre, there were now two hostile systems in Europe: the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and the new alliance of France and Russia.

Great Britain stood outside both alliances, still maintaining the policy of standing apart from European engagements that had been begun by Canning. In the eighties her relations with Germany had been friendly and those with France strained by colonial rivalry. But William II of Germany, though his policy was variable, and at times friendly to England, had an unfortunate tendency to antagonise English public opinion. He sent a telegram of congratulation to President Kruger at the time of the Jameson raid (1896). During the Boer War, though the German government remained neutral, German feeling was strongly on the side of the Boers. In 1897 the Germans began the building of a large navy, which was felt to be a threat to British sea-power. In 1899 they undertook the construction of the Berlin-Bagdad

EUROPE
at the end of the
NINETEENTH CENTURY
Caspian Sea
RUSSIA
Black Sea
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Cyprus
RUMANIA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
Montenegro
GREECE
AUSTRIA HUNGARY
GERMANY
SWEDEN
NORWAY
Baltic Sea
DENMARK
Holland
Belgium
North Sea
FRANCE
Switzerland
ITALY
Sicily
Corsica
Sardinia
Mediterranean Sea
AFRICA
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
KINGDOM of GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND
Atlantic Ocean

railway This threatened to spread German influence over Turkey, which was as unwelcome to Britain as Russian interference there

While British relations with Germany were becoming less friendly France was abandoning her rivalry with Britain in Africa, and deliberately adopting a friendly policy The result was the end of the traditional English policy of isolation, and in 1904 the Anglo-French Entente was formed This was followed in 1907 by an Anglo-Russian treaty From this time the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was faced by the Triple Entente of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

CHAPTER XLVIII

BEYOND EUROPE

THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA

One of the most interesting developments with which modern history is concerned is the spread of European ideas, people, and influence Africa has been partitioned between the European nations, and the Americas and Australia have been colonised Russia has pushed across northern Asia to the Pacific England has conquered India European influence has spread over the Near and Far East European history has become world history Nevertheless, large sections of the world, America under the leadership of the United States, and the Far East, always hostile to European interference, stand apart, and their history, though closely connected with that of Europe has a more independent course

The modern American nations are of European origin From its discovery at the end of the fifteenth century America was regarded as a fair field for settlement and exploitation by the rival powers of Europe Spain conquered Mexico, and accepted the Pope's division of South America between herself and Portugal England planted a line of colonies along the east coast of North America France established herself in Canada and Louisiana, to the north and south of the English, and put forward a shadowy claim to the interior of the North American Continent

In South America England and Spain quarrelled over trade with Spanish America In North America French and English colonial rivalry ended in open war Canada and Eastern Louisiana passed into the possession of England, Western Louisiana was given up to Spain, and the French left America altogether But, having got rid of their French rivals, the English found their supremacy in North America challenged by their own colonists

It had always been understood by the European nations that the object of planting colonies was to increase the trade and wealth of the mother-country and that colonial trade and

administration were to be regulated for its benefit, rather than for that of the colonists. The American War of Independence (1775-1783) was the first serious challenge to this doctrine. It showed the determination of the colonies to become independent communities and to manage their own affairs without interference from Europe.

U.S.A. AND THE WAR OF 1812

The British colonies, which, as the United States of America, had their independence recognised in 1783, were very different in size and importance from the United States of to-day. Then as now, their organisation was federal. Each state had its own government and managed most of its own affairs, but there was also a central government with authority in certain matters over all the states. At first the central government was weak and there was little feeling of common nationality.

The territory of the States extended only as far west as the Mississippi. Neither Spain, which held Louisiana on their western border, nor England, which still retained Canada in the north, was friendly to them. Spain closed the Mississippi to their ships, and England forbade them to import goods into their most important market, the British West Indies, except in British ships. Nor did England seem to have lost by granting independence to her colonies. During the colonial period, American manufactures had been so completely crushed to prevent competition with British ones that the Americans were still obliged to import most of their manufactured goods from Britain, and British trade with them increased.

But, though trade between England and the United States flourished, feeling between the two countries was unfriendly. During the Napoleonic war the Americans bitterly resented the British claim to search American ships for contraband or for British seamen who were attempting to escape service in the navy. In 1812 they declared war on Britain, but the New England states, whose trade was injured by the quarrel, were unenthusiastic, and their lukewarmness probably saved Canada. The danger to Canada was the most serious aspect of the war. Otherwise it took the form of minor engagements at sea and British raids on the American coast, in one of which the American public buildings in their new capital, Washington, were burnt.

THE CANADIAN BOUNDARY DISPUTES

The war was ended by the Treaty of Ghent (1814) Since the question of Britain's right to search neutral ships in wartime remained undecided, its only results had been to injure American trade, and to leave the two countries hostile to each other The need for a settlement of the boundary between Canada and the United States seemed to provide plenty of material for future quarrels Fortunately these were avoided by the statesmanship of Castlereagh and Peel

When the Americans obtained their independence, the Great Lakes provided a natural boundary between the United States and Canada But when Canadians and Americans moved westwards across the Continent, no natural boundary existed, and an artificial one had to be agreed upon In 1803 the United States purchased Western Louisiana, the territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, from Napoleon, who had received it from Spain In 1818 therefore Castlereagh negotiated a settlement by which the boundary from the Great Lakes as far west as the Rockies was to run along the forty-ninth degree of latitude

The rights of British and Americans in the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, known as Oregon, remained undefined When settlers penetrated the Oregon country another dispute arose. The Americans claimed the whole Pacific coast, as far north as Alaska, and threatened war if this was refused But only a minority of them was really anxious to fight, and Peel was able to negotiate the Oregon treaty (1846) By this the boundary between the States and Canada continued to run along the forty-ninth degree of latitude as far as the Pacific

SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

Although they were ready to quarrel with each other about the Canadian boundary, Britain and the United States adopted a similar policy with regard to Central and South America There they supported the struggle of the Spanish colonies for independence, and opposed European intervention The revolt of the Spanish colonies began when Spain fell under Napoleon's control, and it was favoured by the disorder of the Spanish

government restored after Napoleon's fall. It was natural that Britain should support the revolt. She had been struggling against Spanish restriction of her trade with Spanish America since the days of Elizabeth, and she now saw a chance of getting rid of the Spaniards altogether.

British ships maintained communications between the scattered colonies. A British officer, Cochrane, commanded the rebel fleet off the Chilian coast, and troops were sent to support Bolivar, the "Liberator" of the northern colonies. When the European powers permitted the French to interfere to restore order in Spain itself, Canning announced that if French interference were extended to the revolted Spanish colonies, it would be prevented by the British fleet (1823). In 1824 he officially recognised the independence of the South American states.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Canning's action made the independence of South America secure, though the quarrelsomeness and political instability of the new republics did not suggest that the removal of Spanish authority had been an unmixed benefit. The South American states became an increasingly important field for British trade and for the investment of British capital. It was therefore to the interest of Britain to check the interference of other European nations in America.

But the British themselves were not altogether pleased when, at the time of Canning's warning to France, the United States affirmed American independence of Europe and their own leadership of America. This declaration was contained in a message sent by President Monroe to Congress (1823). By the "Monroe doctrine" the United States was pledged neither to interfere in European affairs nor to permit further European colonisation or interference in America. This has formed the basis of their later policy, though even before the Great War, the United States was being drawn into world politics. It is the logical basis of their refusal in 1919 to enter the League of Nations.

Although the existing rights of European nations in America were not challenged by the Monroe doctrine, it added complications and difficulties to the position of Great Britain as an American power. Various disputes have arisen between Britain

and the United States, but, like the Canadian boundary question, these have been peacefully settled Anglo-American relations have been a valuable example of the possibility of settling international quarrels without resorting to war

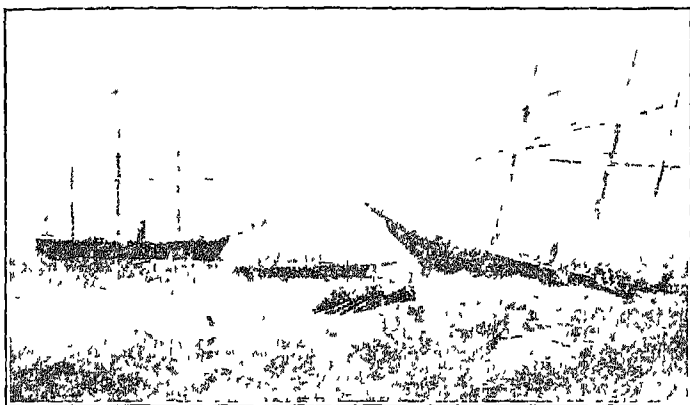
THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Rapid development had made it possible for the United States to claim the leadership of America, but their own existence as a nation was threatened by the quarrel between the Northern and Southern states over the question of slavery In the south the white people lived as a slave-owning aristocracy on plantations worked by negroes They despised the northerners, who worked their own land But the quarrel over slavery did not arise over its existence in the original colonies, but over its extension to new states, which were established as the Americans pushed farther into the west The root of the dispute was not slavery itself, but whether the South or the North was to dominate the Union and to form the model on which life in the new western states was to be based

In 1860 the question of slavery had come into the forefront of American politics, and it was the issue over which the presidential election was fought The election of Abraham Lincoln as President was a victory for the North, but the South refused to accept it, and broke away from the Union, forming a separate Confederation The North denied their right to do this, treating them as rebels, and the Civil War (1860-1865) began

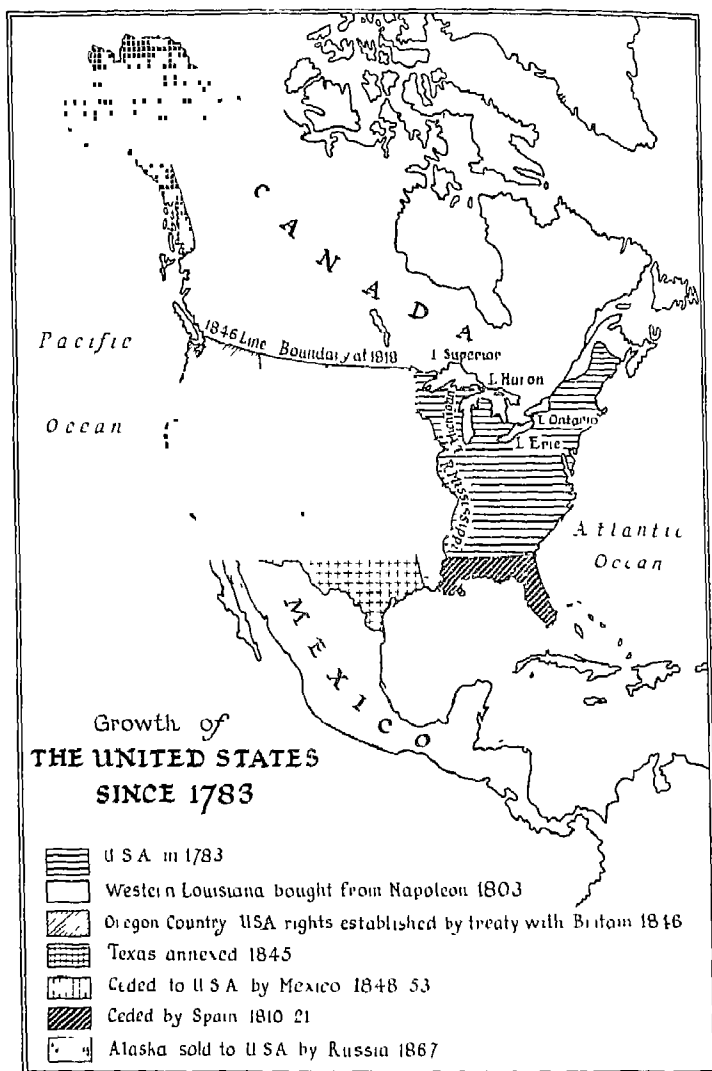
The American Civil War led to unemployment in the cotton manufacturing district of Lancashire, for raw cotton was obtained from the southern states Finally the lack of American cotton, due to the Northern blockade of Confederate shipping, was made good by cotton from India In spite of unemployment, the English working classes sympathised with the Northern states, whose opposition to slavery they approved The sympathy of the English ruling classes, who liked the aristocratic Southerners, was with the Southern Confederation When some Confederate envoys to Britain were taken off a British ship, the "Trent," by the Northerners (1861), public opinion in England was inflamed almost to the point of war

Lincoln and Russell managed to keep the peace, but the English government was certainly Confederate in its preferences

In 1862 its negligence permitted the Confederate privateer "Alabama" to escape from Liverpool The "Alabama" did a great deal of damage to the shipping of the Northern States When the war ended in a Northern victory, which preserved American unity, their resentment of British hostility led to exaggerated demands for compensation The "Alabama" dispute, which dragged on till 1872, caused much ill-feeling between Britain and America Finally Gladstone referred the American claims to an international court, and paid the amount of compensation there decided on

ACTION BETWEEN THE KEARSARGE AND ALABAMA
(Rescue of the Crew of the Alabama by the Deerhound)

ANGLO-AMERICAN DISPUTES

In spite of American determination to stand politically apart from Europe, streams of Europeans were constantly settling in the United States Their population grew with enormous rapidity, spreading across the Continent, and their wealth and manufactures developed quickly

In the eighties and nineties friction with Canada, and so with Britain, frequently arose over tariffs In 1895 the United States interfered in a dispute concerning the border between Venezuela and British Guiana in South America They interpreted the Monroe doctrine as a claim to decide all American questions Britain, under Lord Salisbury, refused to acknowledge the right

DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BETWEEN 1783 AND 1867

of the United States to control American affairs, and President Cleveland declared that he would go to war to maintain it. But in the end Salisbury persuaded the Americans to accept a settlement by arbitration, and war was again avoided

AMERICA IN WORLD POLITICS

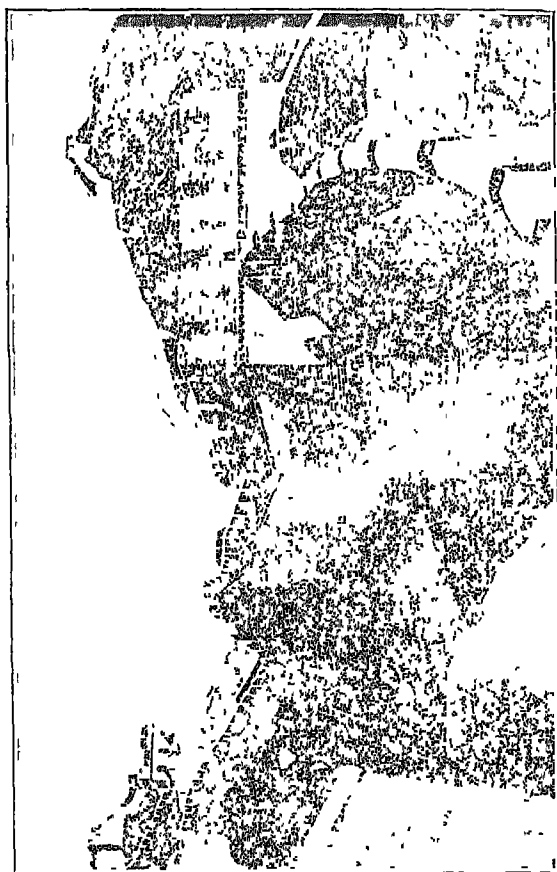
From this time relations between Britain and the United States became more friendly When the States engaged in war with Spain (1898) British sympathies were on their side With this war began a period during which the Americans were drawn more and more into world politics They found it increasingly difficult to continue the policy of American isolation from Europe laid down in the Monroe doctrine

By obtaining the Philippine Islands from Spain, the United States acquired a stake in the Far East They found it difficult to avoid entanglement in the affairs of the European powers, who had interests there By 1900 America was taking part in an international expedition to put down the Boxer rebellion in China But the States still made a determined effort to stand apart from European affairs, and this adherence to their traditional policy lay at the root of their reluctance to enter the Great War Again they found a policy of isolation impossible, because of German submarine attacks on their shipping But when the war was over, they refused to enter the League of Nations, and once more attempted to isolate America from Europe

THE CHINESE

The Far East had been visited by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and its luxuries had, throughout the Middle Ages, reached Europe by way of the caravan routes of Asia, the Mediterranean, and the Italian ports Yet it had remained legendary and almost inaccessible till the discovery of the sea-route to India, and thence to China, in the fifteenth century Even after this Europeans were slow to obtain a footing there, and the spread of western ideas in the Far East is a recent development

As early as 1672 the East India Company had begun to trade with the port of Canton in China But the Chinese did not welcome Europeans, and trade with them was conducted only on sufferance and with many restrictions Cut off from the rest

of the world by the Pacific on one side, and on the other by high mountains and wide plains inhabited by wandering hordes of Mongol horsemen, the Chinese had very early reached an advanced stage of civilisation They were a peaceable,

Wide World Photos

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

Built about 200 B C for the defence of North China against barbarians from Central Asia

industrious and very numerous people, most of whom were farmers They were also successful in industry and commerce, and possessed great artistic skill Respect for the past and for the traditions of their ancestors made them opposed to change

Looking back on thousands of years of civilisation, the

Chinese despised foreigners as barbarians, and this was one of the causes of their hostility to Europeans. But they were an unwarlike race with a contempt for soldiers and fighting. When, in the nineteenth century, Europeans began to use force to gain an entry into China, the Chinese had no effective means of defence. Since then they have proved to be at the mercy of nations which have chosen to seize their provinces and to exploit their resources.

PALMERSTON AND THE CHINESE WARS

Britain was the first European power to obtain control of a Chinese port. Chinese restrictions annoyed British merchants, especially as the Chinese government made spasmodic efforts to check the trade in opium, which was imported to China from India, and which was very profitable. When, in 1839, the Chinese authorities seized a cargo of Indian opium, Palmerston sent an expeditionary force to China, and the Canton river was blockaded. The Chinese were forced to pay compensation and to hand over the port of Hong-Kong to the British.

This Chinese war was disreputable, since it was undertaken to force China to admit a harmful drug. It was followed by the opening of several Chinese ports, of which Shanghai was the principal one, to European trade. The Europeans had found a new field for their rivalry and ambitions, and they had also discovered that China was weak, and could be coerced and bullied with impunity. The French found a pretext for interfering in Chinese affairs by claiming the right to protect Catholic missionaries and their converts in China. They also seized outlying Chinese dependencies in Indo-China. The Russians, who had been pushing their way across northern Asia added eastern Siberia to their dominions and became neighbours of China, from which they took the Amur province.

In China itself Europeans were very jealous of their prestige and privileges, and inclined to insist upon them to an exaggerated extent. In 1858 Palmerston again sent a military expedition to China. Chinese officials had taken one of their own countrymen, who was accused of piracy, off a ship, the "Arrow," that had been licensed to fly the British flag, and the Chinese authorities were forced to apologise. In all their relations, the Europeans regarded the Chinese as an inferior people, and China as a

country to be exploited and brought under European influence The result was that the Chinese, though unable to resist, continued to regard foreigners as enemies and to desire to exclude them

SINO-JAPANESE WAR EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE

But it was not only the Europeans who threatened China The Japanese were a race whose civilisation was similar to that of China, but unlike the Chinese they were warlike and aggressive Though their country was comparatively small, Europeans found it impossible to exploit them as they did the Chinese The Japs showed themselves amazingly ready to learn from Europe, and managed, in less than a century, to transform their country from something very like the feudalism of medieval Europe into a centralised modern state, and to build up an army and navy on European lines They were then, like the European powers, eager to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the weakness of China

In 1895 they made war on China and were completely successful They forced the Chinese to give them territory in Manchuria with the valuable harbour of Port Arthur, as well as other concessions But the European powers did not approve of this Japanese entry into their game of exploiting China Russia, France, and Germany united in putting the new Eastern power in her place by forcing her to give up Port Arthur and her footing in Manchuria Japan was forced to obey, but resentment of this humiliation had a strong effect on her later policy. The fact that Britain had not acted with the other powers was the foundation of the later Anglo-Japanese friendship

The Europeans themselves then began the same policy of seizing Chinese ports they had forced Japan to abandon The lead was taken by Germany, who had begun to increase her navy, and wanted to establish a naval base in China that would extend her influence as a sea-power to the Far East In 1897 the Germans seized Kiao-chau In the next year, Russia, whose Pacific port, Vladivostock, was frozen up during part of the year, and who wanted a warm-water harbour in the East, seized Port Arthur, which had been refused to Japan To equalise matters Britain and France then took possession of Wei-Hai-Wei and Kwang-chouan

THE BOXER REBELLION

So many Chinese ports were passing under European control that the United States began to fear for the security of American trade with China. Secretary Hay demanded that the policy of the "open-door" should be observed. This meant that no power should try, by imposing tariffs, to keep other nations from trading with a Chinese port that it held.

Meanwhile the Chinese themselves were beginning to fear that their whole country would fall under European domination. The European nations had marked out spheres of influence for themselves in China—the English one being the Yangtze valley—in which they endeavoured to control trade and to develop natural resources. The Chinese formed societies hostile to foreigners, the most important of which the English nicknamed the "Boxers". The anti-foreign movement showed itself at first in riots and in the murder of traders and missionaries. But in 1900 there was a serious outbreak, the German consul was murdered, and the foreign legations were besieged in the Chinese capital, Pekin.

The position of the Boxers was very difficult to define. Though the Chinese government shared their eagerness to be rid of foreigners, and secretly encouraged them, fear of European power led it to pretend to regard them as rebels. It was evident that the Boxer Rebellion threatened the position of European powers in China, so they abandoned their rivalry for a time. With American and Japanese support, they sent an expedition, under the leadership of a German, Count Waldersee, to the relief of the legations in Pekin. The Boxers were repressed, indemnities and guarantees were extracted, and European prestige was restored. The work was carried out with unnecessary brutality, and atrocities were committed that helped to keep hostility between Europe and Asia alive.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE. THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

In 1902 England and Japan made an alliance with each other. This was a startling development, for it meant the abandonment of the traditional British policy of isolation that had been followed since the days of Canning. The two countries shared a

common fear of the extension of Russian power in Asia England suspected Russian designs on India, and Japan was jealous of Russian control of Port Arthur, and influence in Manchuria, the province to the north of China Japan intended to make war on Russia, and the alliance made her able to rely on British neutrality, and on British support if any other power should interfere This alliance was continued till 1921

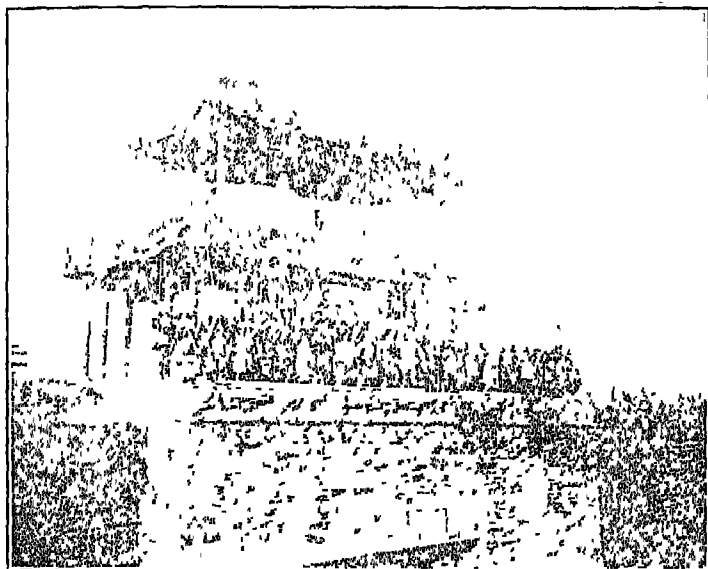
Japan's object in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) was to obtain Port Arthur and to become the dominating influence in Manchuria. The contest appeared very unequal, and would have been so if Russian resources had been better mobilised, or if the struggle had been prolonged Japan understood the situation perfectly, and won a victory by rapid action and superior efficiency. She obtained Port Arthur and the concessions in Manchuria that China had been forced to grant to Russia But the great importance of the victory was to demonstrate that a native power had arisen in the Far East that could check European predominance there, as the United States had done in America It was evident that Japan had become a first-class power, and an aggressive one

THE CHINESE REPUBLIC AND JAPANESE POLICY

Meanwhile European influence was penetrating China in a new fashion Chinese students studied at American and European universities and acquired European political ideas that led them to criticise the inefficient Chinese government The rulers of China were the descendants of foreign conquerors, the Manchus, and in 1911 the Chinese, led by Sun-Yat-Sen, revolted, drove them out, and established a republic

But the foundations of the new system were very unstable Student enthusiasm for republican government had not penetrated the masses and was almost entirely confined to the south of China. The north clung to the old ideas, and a northerner, Yuan-Shih-Kai, who became President, soon began to turn the republic into a military dictatorship The result was a rebellion of the genuine republicans in the south Civil war broke out and has continued, China, being torn by the struggles of different "war-lords" and their armies Nevertheless, western ideas have continued to spread, the old system seems to

be breaking up, and China is one of the countries that have entered on a period of development

Chinese disorder provided Japan with an opportunity for exploitation of China especially while the European powers were engaged in the Great War (1914-1918) She seized the port of Kiao-chau, which had been held by Germany, and forced China to grant her many concessions In 1932 she embarked on a

Sport and General Press Agency

SINO-JAPANESE WAR IN MANCHURIA OCCUPATION OF CHINCHOW

Soldiers of the Nakajima Infantry Regt shouting "Banzoi" when they reached the main gates of the Castle of Chinchow, 1932

military occupation of the province of Manchuria, where her influence had superseded that of Russia after the Russo-Japanese war She now cut the Provinces off from China by establishing an independent government there The refusal of the League of Nations to agree to this policy led Japan to withdraw from the League (1933) She has shown her determination to become the dominant power in the Far East, and to oppose European control

CHAPTER XLIX

IRELAND AFTER THE UNION

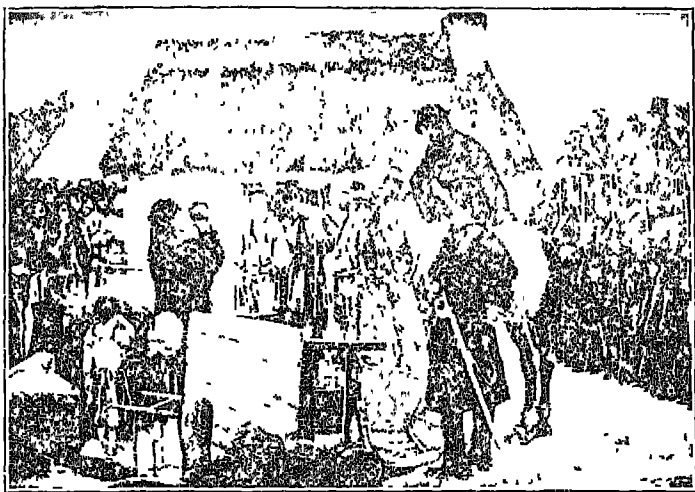
THE IRISH PROBLEM

Ireland was one of the most difficult problems of British statesmen during the nineteenth century. The root of the trouble lay in the miserable condition of the Irish people, most of whom depended for food on the farms they cultivated The country was poor and over-populated The Irish peasant-farmers lived principally on potatoes, and any failure of the crops was followed by starvation The Irish had no resources to fall back on, for their farms were too small to do more than support the family that worked them Rents were high, and a tenth of the produce of the land was paid to the Irish Church as a tithe.

As a result of the plantations of Ireland with English settlers, carried out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most Irish estates were in the hands of a Protestant ruling class The landowners had little in common with their Catholic tenants, and often lived in England, leaving agents to manage estates and tenantry High rents were extorted, and the peasant-farmer who was evicted for non-payment was in danger of starvation The result of this miserable and precarious existence was to leave the Irish peasants hostile to their landlords They were ready to commit local outrages, and to become enthusiastic followers of any leader who promised to do something to better their condition

The Irish problem also had its political and religious aspects The movement for Irish independence had been begun by Grattan in the eighteenth century The Act of Union (1800), which took away that independence altogether, by abolishing the Irish Parliament and giving Ireland representation in the English one, was a settlement forced on Ireland by Pitt The Act had been passed through the Irish Parliament only by the use of bribery and political management, and the Irish themselves had no love for it So it was easy to predict that discontent in Ireland would probably lead to a demand for its repeal

In the eighteenth century hostility between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland had seemed to be dying out, and Grattan's demand for independence had had the support of both But the refusal of Parliamentary representation to Catholics had revived their resentment of control by a Protestant minority Catholic revolts and intrigues with France had alarmed the Protestants The British disarming of the Ulster Catholics with Protestant aid had ended in atrocities on both sides, and the situation in Ireland was once more complicated by religious feuds

Gooch

AN EVICTION IN THE WEST OF IRELAND, 1881

English statesmen certainly regarded the Union as a permanent settlement of the Irish question During the first years of the nineteenth century, when the Napoleonic war was being fought, little interest was felt in Irish affairs Grattan made speeches in Parliament, but they obtained no attention A rising, Emmott's rebellion (1803), in Ireland, failed The breach between Protestants and Catholics widened Ireland retained her grievances, but did not find any effective means of giving utterance to them till the rise of a new champion, Daniel O'Connell

Rischgitz

Emmett Preparing for the Insurrection

O'CONNELL AND CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

In dealing with Grattan the English ruling classes had been faced with a man of their own type He was a great Parliamentary orator, who shared their own ideas of Parliamentary government and their own Protestant religion, and his supporters were the Irish gentry O'Connell, who was a Catholic, and whose supporters were the common people of Ireland, seemed to them a dangerous extremist and demagogue They questioned his sincerity, and accused him of wringing money out of the Irish peasants, and of stirring up trouble to satisfy his own political ambitions But there can be no doubt of the breadth and genuineness of O'Connell's sympathy for the sufferings of the Irish peasantry, nor of his belief that these would be relieved if the Irish could get political power into their own hands

O'Connell's first object was to secure that the Catholics, who formed the majority of the Irish population, should be able to send men of their own religion to represent them in Parliament The question of Catholic emancipation had agitated Ireland since the days of Grattan's Parliament, and emancipation had been promised by Pitt at the time of the Union Mainly because of the religious prejudices of George III , the promise had not been kept Yet, since Catholics had obtained votes in 1795, to grant them the right to sit in Parliament did not involve any very revolutionary change O'Connell saw that without organisation the Catholic peasants had no means of influencing their rulers In 1823 he formed the Catholic Association, in which the peasants were organised under the leadership of their priests and paid a weekly contribution, the " Catholic Rent," to support O'Connell's political campaign

The Association became so strong that, in 1828, O'Connell determined to force a decision on the question of Catholic emancipation by securing his own election to Parliament in a bye-election that was being held for County Clare Led by their priests the Catholic voters elected him by a tremendous majority. The government had to decide whether it would permit him to take his seat in Parliament, or risk a civil war in Ireland, where the Protestant Orange League and the Catholic Association were beginning to arm Wellington's government (1828-1830) was strongly opposed to Catholic emancipation.

But the Duke, taught by his Spanish experiences, did not believe any policy worth a civil war, and Peel, the other Tory leader, agreed with him, so Catholic emancipation was granted (1829)

THE TITHE WAR LICHFIELD HOUSE COMPACT

The Irish peasants themselves were more interested in the payment of tithes than in political questions A tenth of the produce of farms had to be given to the Protestant Church of England, and since most of the Irish were Catholics this was deeply resented In 1830 resistance to the collection of tithes became violent, and, in the "Tithe war," there was not only a succession of outrages, but considerable loss of life

O'Connell saw an opportunity of obtaining concessions from Parliament by using the position of the Irish members of the House of Commons as a third party. Irish support might then decide whether a Whig or Tory government was to be in power when neither had a decisive majority The position of Melbourne's Whig government (1834-1841) was insecure, so O'Connell made the "Lichfield House Compact" with the Whigs, by which, in return for Irish support, reforms were promised

These reforms were hampered by the opposition of the House of Lords But measures were passed for the establishment of a poor law for Ireland, and for the reform of municipal corporations The Tithe war was ended by the commutation of tithes for a charge upon rents (1838) Yet O'Connell saw no hope that the English government would either understand or remedy Irish grievances On the return of Peel and the Tories to power (1841-1846), he began to agitate for Irish independence and the repeal of the Union

O'CONNELL'S REPEAL AGITATION

In 1840 a Repeal Association was founded on the lines of the Catholic Association O'Connell also had the support of a society of enthusiasts, the "Young Ireland Party" formed for the revival of Irish freedom and traditions Yet he could not unite Ireland behind him as Grattan had done. The feud between Catholics and Protestants, revived during the later years of the eighteenth century had been deepened and embittered

by time, and by outrages and violence on both sides. The Protestant minority in Ireland had learnt to fear Catholic domination and to support the Union. Moreover, Peel made a firm stand against the movement for Irish independence, and declared himself ready to uphold the Union by force.

When O'Connell continued his agitation by addressing monster public meetings in different parts of Ireland, an Arms Bill was passed for the suppression of seditious assemblies. In 1843 O'Connell summoned a meeting at Clontarf, famous as the site of an ancient Irish victory over the Danes. The authorities, fearing the huge crowds that were assembling, forbade it. O'Connell was faced by a dilemma. He could either give way, and risk the loss of his prestige, or he could persist, knowing that his followers would be attacked by troops. In the end he maintained his policy of peace, and abandoned the meeting.

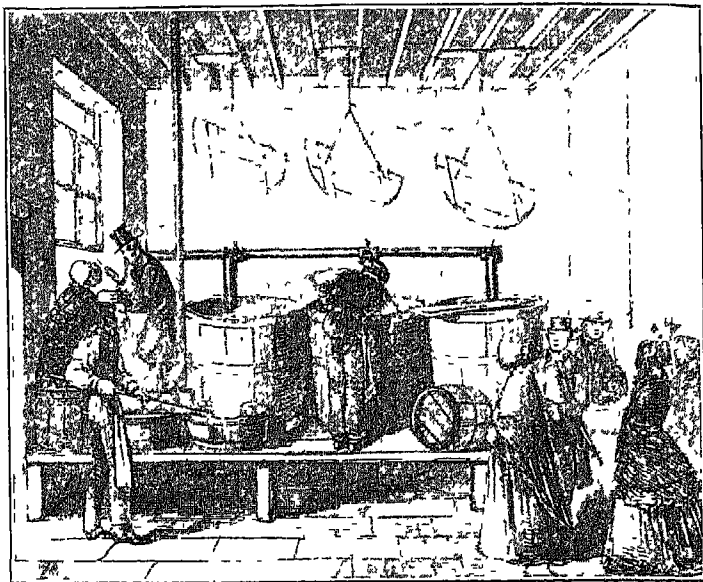
The result was that he was totally discredited. The Irish realised that the government was ready to resort to force, and that O'Connell was not. The government realised that its policy had been victorious. O'Connell was seized and tried on a charge of trying to alter the constitution by force. But the Protestant jury that condemned him was so obviously chosen for the purpose that the House of Lords quashed the sentence as discreditable to the whole system of trial by jury. O'Connell was left free but powerless, and died abroad, deserted by the Irish to whose cause he had devoted his life.

THE IRISH FAMINE. THE FENIANS

The middle years of the nineteenth century were a time of tragedy for Ireland. In 1845 and 1846 the potato crops failed, and it is estimated that, in the famine that followed, a million people died of hunger and the diseases that resulted from it. Peel took the Irish famine as an excuse for repealing the Corn Laws and allowing the free import of wheat. But this did not benefit the starving Irish, who could not afford to buy wheat. Their own wheat crops were being exported because they commanded higher prices abroad.

Some relief was given by the importation of maize into Ireland by the British government, but the lack of food at home drove thousands of Irish to emigrate to America. The Irish peasants blamed England, justly or unjustly, for their misery, and

for upholding their landlords against them. They took with them to America a sense of bitter hostility to everything English, which could not but effect Anglo-American relations.

In 1848 the Young Ireland Party which had been among the supporters of O'Connell, attempted a rebellion under the leadership of Smith O'Brien. The suppression of its revolt and the transportation of its leaders, brought the movement to an end. For some years Irish revolutionary organisations centred in

THE CORK SOCIETY OF FRIENDS' SOUP HOUSE DURING THE IRISH FAMINE OF 1847

America, among the Irish who had emigrated there, rather than in Ireland itself.

In 1858 the Fenian Brotherhood, sworn to liberate Ireland by any means and to establish an Irish republic, was founded in New York. In the sixties its terrorist activities became important both in England and Ireland. In 1867 there was a Fenian revolt in Ireland, and when it had been put down, attempts to rescue Fenian prisoners in England caused the murder of a policeman in Manchester, and an attempt to blow up Clerkenwell

Prison The Fenians hanged for the death of the Manchester policeman were known to their sympathisers as the " Manchester Martyrs "

GLADSTONE'S IRISH POLICY

The most important result of the Fenian outrages was to call Gladstone's attention to Irish affairs He seems to have felt that real grievances must lie at the root of so much violence, and he set himself to find out what those grievances were Gladstone was a deeply religious man, and one who attached great importance both to religious liberty and to the differences between creeds He was inclined to attribute the same point of view to the Irish, and to think that their principal cause of discontent was the position of the Protestant Church in Ireland, as the established Church in a predominantly Catholic country

In 1869, therefore, he passed a measure for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church The Protestants were allowed to keep their sacred buildings and about half of their endowments, but they lost their position as the official Church of Ireland The measure, though it pleased the Irish, did not greatly affect the situation in Ireland With Catholic emancipation and the settlement of the tithe question, the Protestant establishment had ceased to weigh heavily upon Catholics

Gladstone showed a truer appreciation of the real cause of Irish grievances in his Irish Land Act (1870) The root of the poverty and misery of Ireland was the difficulty with which Irish peasants could extract a bare living from their farms But Gladstone's attempt to interfere between landlord and tenant met with strong opposition in England, where it was regarded as an attack on property rights and on free bargaining

Ignorance of Irish conditions made the English unaware of the difference in the position of the tenant farmer in England and that of the peasant cultivator in Ireland Irish holdings were tiny, rents high, and competition for land so great that tenants were readily evicted Evicted tenants were faced with starvation To secure its passage, Gladstone's Bill was much altered It gave Irish tenants who were paying a reasonable rent the right to claim compensation for eviction, and empowered the Board of Trade to make loans to tenants who wished to purchase their land But it was, on the whole, a failure.

London Electrotype Agency

MR GLADSTONE EXPLAINING TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS HIS SCHEME FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND, THURSDAY, APRIL 8

" The Irishman is profoundly Irish, but it does not follow that because his local patriotism is keen, he is incapable of Imperial patriotism "

PARNELL AND HOME RULE

In the seventies new movements for Irish independence began. In 1875 Isaac Butt founded the "Home Rule League" to obtain repeal of the Union. In 1879 the Land League was founded by Michael Davitt, who, though he did not know a great deal about the land question, realised its importance to Ireland. Like Butt and the Fenians, however, his real aim was Irish independence.

The Home Rule League provided the Irish with a constitutional means of agitation, and Fenian violence began to die down. But Isaac Butt was too mild to be an effective leader, and the real advance of his movement began when it fell under the leadership of Charles Stuart Parnell. Parnell is not an attractive figure. He was reserved and enigmatical, and seemed to stand apart even from his own followers. He was a Protestant landowner, and seemed to be inspired as much by hatred of England as by sympathy for the Irish Catholic peasantry. But he was a brilliant party manager and politician. He handled the Irish movement in such a way as to bring the greatest possible amount of pressure to bear on Parliament and on Irish landlords.

In Parliament Parnell adopted the policy of holding up all business, as a means of forcing the government to pay attention to Irish affairs. The members of the Irish party held up Parliamentary debates by making long speeches, and to meet this the device of arbitrary closure of debate had to be used. In Ireland itself Parnell devised a policy, nicknamed "boycott" after its first victim, to intimidate landlords.

In 1879 the crops had failed so the land League had ordered that rents should not be paid, so as to force landlords to lower them, and that, when a tenant was evicted, no one should take his land. Parnell's device was to send to Coventry both agents who tried to evict tenants and tenants who failed to obey the instructions of the Land League. Such victims of boycott were cut off from all trade or intercourse with their neighbours. In the carrying out of the process many outrages were committed. In 1881 Gladstone's government passed not only a Coercion Bill to restore order in Ireland, but a second Land Act. This established Land Courts to regulate rents, to prevent unjustified evictions, and to assess compensation due for improvements carried out by evicted tenants.

London Electrotype Agency

Re-Election of Mr Parnell as Leader of the Irish Party, Nov 25, in Committee Room No 15, House of Commons

Unfortunately, in passing both a Land Act and a Coercion Bill, the government was trying to soothe and repress the Irish at the same moment. When the Land League was suppressed and Parnell and other leaders were imprisoned, the disorder in Ireland became worse. In 1882 the Liberals came to an agreement with Parnell, called the "Kilmainham Treaty," because the Irish leader was in Kilmainham gaol when it was negotiated by Chamberlain.

But Irish affairs were not destined to be brought to a peaceful settlement. In the same year the new Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and the Under-Secretary, Mr Burke, were murdered when walking in Phoenix Park, Dublin. This outrage so inflamed English public opinion that a policy of conciliation became impossible, and although Parnell and his friends disavowed all connection with the murders, they were not believed. Spencer's administration reduced Ireland to order by a vigorous use of coercion. The Irish retaliated by dynamite outrages in London. The Irish party withdrew its support from the Liberals, and the Gladstone ministry fell (1885).

GLADSTONE'S HOME RULE BILLS

Parnell was in a strong position for while the numbers of Conservatives and Liberals in Parliament remained fairly evenly balanced, the support of the Irish party would decide which was to govern the country. Parnell's price for this support was the abandonment of coercion in Ireland and some measure of Home Rule. Though Salisbury's government (1885-1886) allowed the Coercion Bill to lapse, it would not abandon the Union. In 1886 Gladstone, who had by now convinced himself that Home Rule was the will of the Irish nation, came into power with Irish support.

But the opinion of Gladstone's party had not changed with his own. A considerable body of moderate Liberals, led by Lord Hartington, still continued to think that an independent Ireland would provide ground for foreign intrigues against Britain. Some of the Radicals, while sympathising with the Irish demand for liberty held that it was unwise to make concessions to a people that used force and violence to extort them. Gladstone brought forward a Home Rule Bill that was to give Ireland an independent Parliament and almost complete control of her

domestic affairs, leaving her foreign policy in British hands But the Liberal "Unionists" voted against it, and it was defeated (1886).

The failure of Gladstone's Home Rule policy had tremendous effects upon both English and Irish politics The split which it had caused in the Liberal party remained The Liberal Unionists finally united with the Conservatives and a period of Conservative government followed The refusal of Home Rule after it had obtained Gladstone's support was a bitter disappointment to Ireland, and a new period of disorder and violence followed The "National League," which had taken the place of the Land League, established a "Plan of Campaign" to force landlords to lower rents Balfour, who was Irish Secretary during the second Salisbury government (1886-1892) had to reduce the country to order by new means of coercion

Meanwhile, Parnell's career was drawing to an end In 1887 the "Times" published a letter which he was said to have written, and which expressed approval of the Phoenix Park murders Parnell denied that the letter was his, but he was generally disbelieved, especially as he refused to take any further action in the matter In 1890 the letter was proved to be a forgery, and the British public, feeling that it had condemned Parnell unjustly, suddenly became inclined to make him a hero

His popularity did not last long, however, for he was named as co-respondent in a divorce case, and his private life received a great deal of unpleasant publicity Gladstone warned him that, if he continued to lead the Irish party the cause of Home Rule would be damaged in public opinion, but Parnell refused to resign His followers at first supported him, but, finding that they must choose between him and Gladstone, most of them threw him over In 1891 he died, unable to face this general desertion In 1893 Gladstone, who had returned to power for a short interval, brought forward another Home Rule Bill, but it was defeated, with the result that Gladstone retired from public life, leaving the Irish question unsettled

REDMOND AND THE LIBERALS STRIFE IN IRELAND

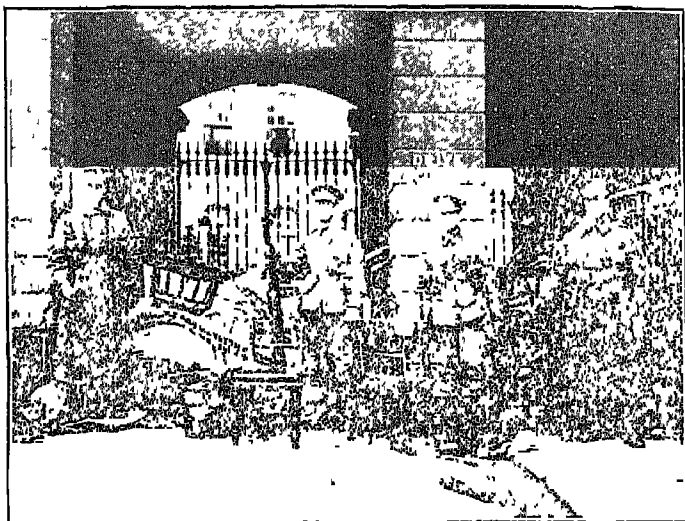
The Conservative governments of the nineties and of the first years of the twentieth century adopted a policy of conciliation in Ireland Home Rule had been defeated, and they hoped to

reconcile the Irish to English rule by good government and by measures designed to remove grievances. An example of this policy is Wyndham's Land Purchase Act (1903), which empowered the government to buy up estates and then to re-sell the land in small holdings to the Irish peasantry. A great deal was done to improve the prosperity of Irish farming. Plunkett, an Irishman, established an Agricultural Organisation Society, and this developed into an official Department of Agriculture. But although this policy did improve Irish conditions, it did not produce contentment and peace. In 1898 a failure of the potato crop was followed by a new period of disorder and outrages. The political agitation for Home Rule was revived by the Nationalists, now under the leadership of John Redmond.

The general election of 1910 left the Liberal government dependent upon Irish support, and Redmond was able to extort a promise of a new Home Rule Bill. This Bill (1912) was very much on the lines of Gladstone's measures. Ireland was to have an independent Parliament, but Britain retained control of her foreign policy and of certain branches of internal administration. Also the Irish Parliament was to pass no measures that interfered with religious liberty. Although the Liberal party was strong enough to pass its Bill through the House of Commons, it was rejected by the Lords, who used their constitutional power to delay it for two years, so that Home Rule had not been granted to Ireland at the beginning of the Great War.

In Ireland itself the Bill was unpopular. The Nationalists did not think that it went far enough. A new political group, the "Sinn Feiners," had been founded by Arthur Griffiths (1900), and refused to have anything to do with England or the British Parliament, and remained hostile to all constitutional attempts to establish Irish independence. On the other hand the Protestants of Ulster felt that Home Rule would put them under Catholic domination, and though they were a minority they were a very energetic one. Led by Carson they began to prepare for armed resistance. The Nationalists followed their example, and Ireland seemed to be on the threshold of a civil war. Ulster commanded a great deal of sympathy among English Unionists, and the resignation of the officers of regiments ordered there from the Curragh, the "Curragh Mutiny" (1914), showed the danger of the position.

SINN FEIN AND THE IRISH REPUBLIC

The outbreak of the Great War ended this awkward situation Redmond and the Nationalists loyally supported Britain and agreed to postpone the Home Rule question to the end of the war But the more violent spirits in Ireland were becoming tired of the moderation of their Nationalist leaders The war provided an opportunity for the Sinn Feiners, who wanted to be

IRISH REBELLION SCENES IN DUBLIN

Soldiers guarding the back entrance to the Four Courts Note the bedding and furniture which was used by the Rebels as a barricade

done with England altogether and were ready to seek German aid

In 1916 Sir Roger Casement attempted to smuggle German arms into the country His capture was followed by the " Easter Week " rebellion in Dublin The rebellion was suppressed without difficulty for the rest of Ireland lacked arms to give its support. But it was felt that a triumph had been scored when Asquith promised an immediate measure of Home Rule The influence of the Sinn Feiners increased, while that of Redmond was weakened The extension of conscription to Ireland (1918)

completed the triumph of Sinn Feins In the election of 1918 the Nationalists were defeated everywhere

In 1919 the Sinn Feiners established an Irish Republic, under the presidency of Mr De Valera This was ignored by Britain, and in 1920 Mr Lloyd George passed an Home Rule Act, which cut off Ulster from the rest of Ireland and established two Irish Parliaments one at Dublin and one at Belfast Ulster accepted the Act, which is the foundation of its present constitution. In the rest of Ireland the attempt to enforce it led to civil war between the Royal Irish Constabulary and the "Irish Republican Army"

In 1921 a conference between the British government and the Sinn Feiners was arranged, and the "Irish Free State" was recognised by treaty In 1922 Dominion Status was conferred upon it But De Valera and the extreme Republicans would not accept this settlement, and a new civil war followed between the Irish government and the Republicans Mr Cosgrave, who became President, restored order by violent measures, and the Free State remained on friendly terms with England till the return of Mr De Valera to power (1932)

CHAPTER L

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS IN THE PERIOD OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI

The death of Palmerston (1865) marks the end of a period during which national affairs were under the control of aristocratic Whig leaders opposed to change. There followed a time of energetic legislation and reforms, carried out by the Conservatives, under the leadership of Disraeli, and the Liberals under that of Gladstone.

Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) belonged to a Jewish family of moderate wealth, and considerable culture. In his youth he tried various occupations. He travelled in the East, which captured his fancy and made him an ardent imperialist. He became a fashionable novelist, went into Society a great deal, and achieved the reputation of being a brilliant and attractive but rather flamboyant and unstable, young man. Actually he was much more serious than he appeared to be, and his novels, in spite of their extravagant style, show shrewd and cynical judgment both of politics and of politicians. He had also a sympathy with the conditions of the working class that he retained all his life, and expressed in some of the measures passed during his premiership.

Disraeli's ambitions were always political, but they were hampered by his Jewish blood and lack of influence, and he was in the thirties before he obtained a seat in Parliament. His political views were unorthodox. His sympathies were with the poor, but he held that the aristocracy were their natural leaders. He believed that the lower classes and the landed gentry should combine against the Whig-Liberal industrialists, whose interests were opposed to their own. This was Toryism, but it was a democratic Toryism that had a wide popular appeal. Disraeli entered Parliament as an Independent. He became the leader of a small group of aristocratic young Tories, who nicknamed themselves the " Young England Party," and then the ally and champion of the Protestant Tory squires in their opposition to the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846).

The struggle over the Corn Laws gave him the chance to make a name for himself by sarcastic and brilliant attacks upon Peel's change of principles When the Conservative party split into Protectionists and Peelites, he became leader of the Protectionist section in the Commons Since the Peelites gradually became identified with the Liberals, the Conservatives were left as a purely Protectionist party Since the country was now firmly converted to Free Trade, this kept them out of office Disraeli therefore set himself to "educate" his followers into abandoning protection as unattainable and turning their attention to other political questions But the process was a slow one, and, though he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the brief Derby ministries of 1852 and 1858, he was fated to spend the best years of his life out of office

GLADSTONE

William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) was the son of a rich Liverpool merchant of Scottish extraction After a brilliant career at Oxford, he obtained a seat in Parliament through the influence of the Duke of Newcastle Unlike Disraeli, he was a young man of orthodox views, being a rigid Tory and a High Churchman But, while Disraeli became leader of the Conservative party, Gladstone, though he remained a sincere Churchman, moved further and further away from the political principles of his youth and became an advanced Liberal During his early years in Parliament he was a follower of Peel, and shared his leader's conversion to Free Trade doctrines When the repeal of the Corn Laws split the Conservative party, leaving Disraeli as leader of the Protectionists, Gladstone and the other "Peelites" gradually drifted into alliance with the Whigs Gladstone proved himself to be an able "Free Trade" Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Aberdeen coalition ministry (1852-1855)

When the mismanagement of the Crimean war led to a popular demand that Palmerston should replace Aberdeen as Prime Minister, Gladstone's position was a difficult one He disliked Palmerston's aggressive foreign policy, and was inclined to share the pacifist views of the advanced Liberals, Cobden and Bright In Palmerston's second ministry (1859-1865) he was Chancellor once more, but there were many points on which he

disagreed with his chief Gladstone was by now recognised as one of the leaders of the advanced Liberal wing of the party, while Palmerston represented the aristocratic Whigs of the old school, who opposed change and regarded the first Reform Act (1832) as a final settlement of the franchise

JOHN BRIGHT AND AGITATION FOR REFORM

Palmerston was immensely popular, but on the question of the franchise the nation did not agree with him The first

JOHN BRIGHT, ABOUT 70's

Reform Act, which gave votes to the middle classes, had disappointed the workers, who had helped to agitate for it, and their discontent had broken out in the Chartist movement Even after the failure of Chartism the desire for Parliamentary reform remained During the sixties the demand for it was revived by John Bright, who, having helped Cobden to secure the repeal of the Corn Laws, now turned his attention to the establishment of democratic government

Bright spread the demand for reform by addressing great public meetings, and though he was not a member of the government his influence over town workers and lower middle class people was tremendous. Palmerston disliked both democracy and Bright's radicalism. He knew that reform had the support of Gladstone and the advanced Liberals, and that only his restraining hand prevented his party from adopting a reform policy. But he held out till his death in 1865, and such was his command of the affections of the nation that he was able to do so without losing his popularity or the control of public affairs.

When Palmerston died (1865) the leaders of the Conservatives and Liberals in the Commons were Disraeli and Gladstone. In the Lords the party leaders were the Earl of Derby and Earl Russell, the Lord John Russell who had helped to pass the first Reform Act and who now became Prime Minister (1865-1866). In 1866 Russell and Gladstone brought forward a Reform Bill. Though it was very moderate, the followers of Palmerston, the Whig section of the Liberal party, clung to his opposition to any further extension of the franchise. Led by Robert Lowe, these Palmerstonian Liberals voted with the Conservatives to defeat the government. Bright nicknamed Lowe's followers the "Adullamites," comparing their party to the Cave of Adullam, to which all those discontented with Saul flocked to join David against him.

THE SECOND REFORM ACT

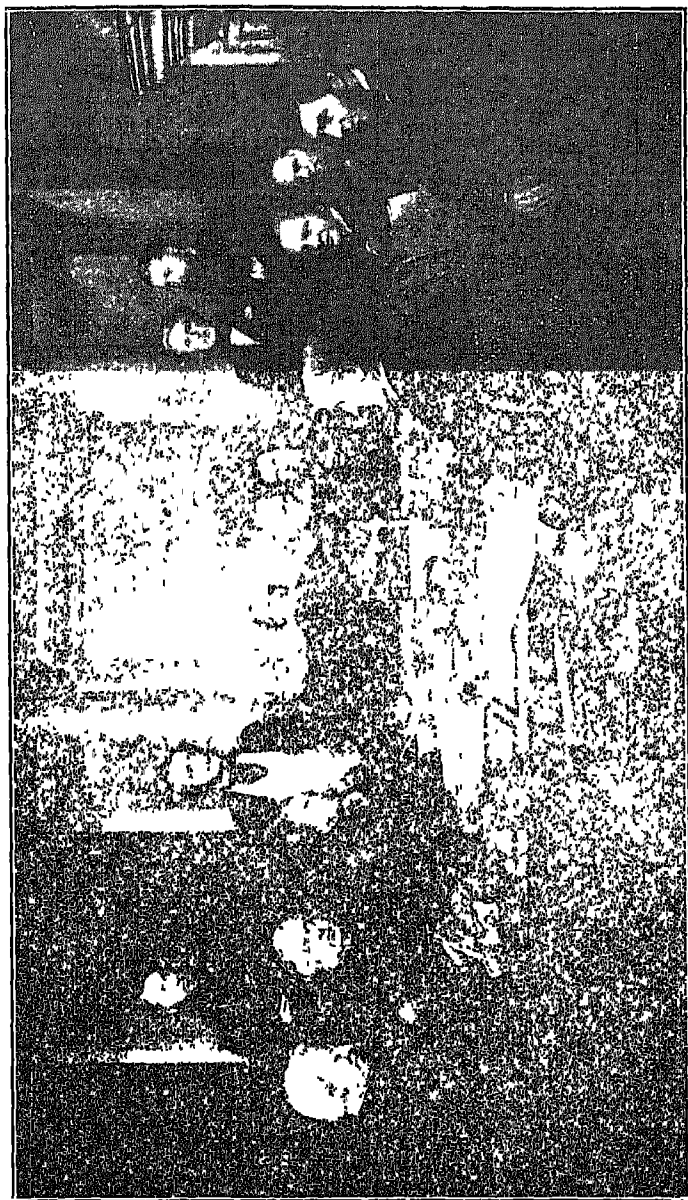
The defeat of the Liberals brought the Conservatives into office (1866), with Lord Derby as Prime Minister and Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Conservative party did not favour any further extension of the franchise, but Disraeli, who had always sympathised with the working classes, probably had an open mind on the subject. The situation was a very difficult one. The working classes, already roused by Bright's agitation for extension of the franchise, had been angered by the suggestion, made by Lowe and his Adullamites, that they were unfit to have votes. There were disturbances, though not serious ones, that led to a rather unjustified fear of revolution. It was evident that the franchise question must be settled and, characteristically, Disraeli chose to settle it himself, rather than to leave it to the Liberals. In 1867 he brought forward a Conservative Reform Bill.

Disraeli had grasped the importance given by industrial changes to the artisan class in the towns — the upper rank of the working class. It was to this section of the nation, and to the lower middle class, that he now proposed to give votes by extending the franchise in the boroughs to all ratepayers. He had predicted that, in repealing the Corn Laws, England had committed herself to an industrial future, so it was to the industrial workers that he now attempted to give a share in the government of the country. But by a system of "fancy franchises" that gave two votes to ministers, university graduates, and various other classes of people, he tried to prevent the working class vote from outweighing that of the other classes.

The result was that the Liberals, who could scarcely refuse to pass a Reform Bill, attacked these "fancy franchises," and cut them out of the measure. When the Bill was passed it was more democratic than the one proposed by the Liberals themselves; for it made the payment of rates a sufficient qualification for a vote in a borough constituency. At first the new Act seemed to be a blow to the Conservatives for, in the election of 1868 the Liberals secured a majority. But time showed that Disraeli had judged the interests of his party correctly, for during the later years of the century it enjoyed a long tenure of power.

GLADSTONE'S LIBERAL MEASURES

The first election that followed the new Reform Act gave the Liberals a majority. Gladstone became Prime Minister (1868-1874), and, since the Whig "Adullamites," the branch of his party that was opposed to change, lost their seats, he was able to bring forward measures desired by advanced Liberals.

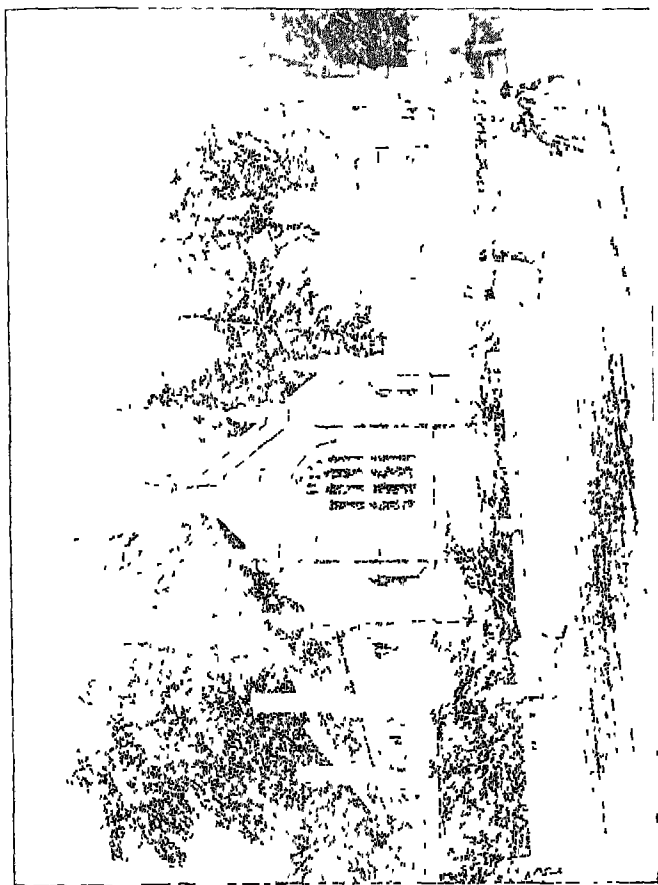
Gladstone's own attention was fixed upon Ireland, to which it had been called by the Fenian outrages. During his ministry the Irish Church was disestablished (1869), and the first Irish Land Act passed (1870). But the ministry also passed important measures for education and for the reform of the army and of the civil services. The Ballot Act (1872), by substituting secret voting at elections for public voting at the hustings, helped to prevent intimidation of the new working class voters. The establishment of a Local Government Board (1871) brought local authorities for public health, poor law, and local government under the control of a central board.

THE CABINET OF 1869-74 GLADSTONE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In 1870 Forster brought forward an Elementary Education Bill English education was in a very backward condition, and half of the population could neither read nor write. The elementary schools of the country were established, not by the government, but by voluntary religious organisations: the Church of England "National School Society," and the Nonconformist "British and Foreign School Society." Since 1833 these societies had been aided by a government grant, and since 1839 grant-aided schools had been subject to government inspection Forster's Act did not attempt to abolish or supersede the voluntary schools of the two societies It established local School Boards to provide elementary schools in districts where the voluntary schools did not exist or were insufficient A third of the expenses of these schools were to be met by a government grant, a third out of the rates, and a third by school fees At first, attendance at school was not compulsory, except in certain districts It did not become compulsory in all parts of the country till 1880, and it was not made completely free till 1891

Forster's Act laid the foundation of the modern system of elementary schools, but it roused much discontent among religious bodies In the new "provided" schools established by the School Boards only general religious instruction, acceptable to people of all denominations, was to be given But Nonconformists complained that, through the retention of the voluntary schools, in many districts their children had to go to "National Schools," where Church of England doctrines were taught. At the same time, the National Society recognised that, in spite of an increased government grant, their schools would be gradually superseded by those provided by the government So the Act pleased neither Anglicans nor Nonconformists, and helped to secure the defeat of the Liberals in the next general election

Gladstone's ministry also reformed the method of appointing civil servants They had in the past been chosen, not because of their qualifications, but because they possessed some relation or benefactor, who could influence the government in their favour This system had provided the party in office with a means of buying support, but it had also tended to fill government departments with idle and incompetent officials, and

administration suffered The system of choosing government officials by competitive examination had been tried in the India Office, and its success led Gladstone to extend it to other departments The result was that public appointments went to

A NATIONAL SCHOOL AND SCHOOL HOUSE, 1843

The architect sought to express two ideas—the ecclesiastical connection, dignity with economy The school cost £500, the school house £260

men of ability instead of to men of influence, and the efficiency of the civil service was greatly increased

A similar change was made in the army To obtain promotion an officer was obliged to buy his commission from

his predecessor, and was then able to sell it in his turn This system prevented the rise of poor men of ability, and Gladstone and his War Minister, Cardwell, determined to abolish it. But the measure aroused a great deal of opposition, both in the Army itself and among the privileged classes, and the House of Lords refused to assent to it Finally the matter was settled by the Queen, who abolished "purchase" by Royal Warrant Compensation was paid to those who had bought their commissions, and the road to promotion in the army was opened to men of experience and ability Cardwell also carried out other important reforms He instituted a system of short service in the Army, which gave men an opportunity of undergoing military training, and yet securing their discharge while they were still young enough to make a civilian career for themselves

In the election of 1874 the Liberals were defeated, and the Conservatives came into office with Disraeli as Prime Minister (1874-1880) Gladstone's pacifism was one cause of the fall of his government, for the country was beginning to desire a more active foreign policy. In the past it had been Palmerston and the Whigs who had been eager to make English influence felt abroad, but Disraeli had infected the Conservatives with his own doctrine of imperialism His ministry was to bring with it not only colonial wars, but the check to Russian aspirations in the Near East administered by the Treaty of Berlin (1878)

DISRAELI'S SOCIAL REFORMS

Disraeli's domestic policy was one of useful, if not sweeping, social reforms, which gave expression to the sympathy that he had felt with the working classes since his youth He did not share the nineteenth-century Liberal belief that the state should interfere as little as possible in the lives of its citizens. His measures for factory regulation, sanitation, and housing are an interesting foreshadowing of twentieth-century policy In 1875 the Public Health Act codified existing sanitary legislation Housing conditions in the new industrial districts that had developed since the Industrial Revolution were terribly bad An attempt to deal with the housing question was made by the Artisans' Dwellings Act (1875), which empowered corporations to buy up insanitary houses, and to build new ones suitable for working class families This was the first step towards modern schemes for slum abolition and for the provision of working

class houses by the joint efforts of the central government and the local authorities.

In the same year the Employers' and Workmen's Act (1875) was passed to deal with a grievance of the Trade Unions, which, by the extension of the franchise to the artisan class, had acquired considerable political influence. A measure passed by Gladstone's government had forbidden the Unions to attempt, by "picketing" to prevent men going to work during a strike. Disraeli's Act made picketing legal, provided that it was carried on by peaceful methods and that no violence was used.

The firm belief of the Liberals in the freedom of the individual and in the free development of industry led them to oppose all government interference with industrial conditions. Radicals like Cobden and Bright were opponents of the Factory Acts, and left their Tory and Conservative opponents to pass laws for the protection of industrial workers. This agreed very well with Disraeli's political ideal of Tory democracy, and in 1878 his government, in the Factories and Workshops Act, codified and revised the Factory Acts that had already been passed. In 1876 the Merchant Shipping Act began the task of securing protection for seamen by empowering the Board of Trade to inspect and condemn vessels that were unfit to go to sea. It also enforced the use of the "Plimsoll line," named after Samuel Plimsoll, who had agitated for it. This was a line painted on the hull of ships to indicate the waterline beyond which the ship must not be so heavily loaded as to sink.

But Disraeli's domestic policy of Tory democracy attracted less attention than his imperialism. The latter part of his ministry was principally occupied by foreign affairs, and the achieving of the Berlin settlement (1878). The nation welcomed the settlement of the Near Eastern dispute without a war with Russia, but, just as it had tired of Gladstone's pacifism, it was growing weary of an energetic foreign policy. In the elections of 1880 Disraeli, who had been created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876, was defeated, and Gladstone once more came into power.

THE THIRD REFORM ACT

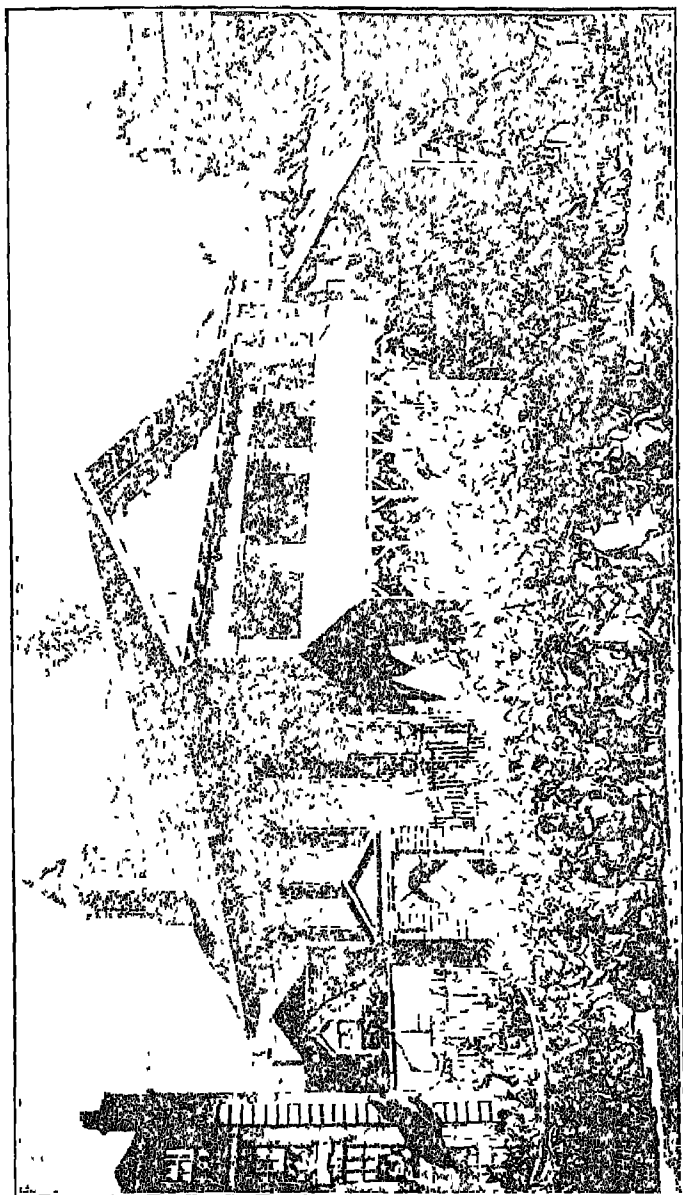
From the time of the Second Reform Act (1867) the ministries of Gladstone and Disraeli had produced a series of measures of reorganisation and reform, and this was continued by the

Third Reform Act (1884) of Gladstone's second ministry (1880-1885).

This Act made the franchise the same in county as in borough constituencies—that is, it gave the vote in counties, as well as in boroughs, to householders who paid rates. This meant that votes were given to industrial workers who lived outside boroughs, and to the agricultural labourer. To secure the passage of the Bill through the House of Lords, it was followed by a measure for the redistribution of seats (1885), which disfranchised small boroughs altogether, and left those with less than 50,000 inhabitants represented by only one member of Parliament.

The Third Reform Act increased the representation of the working classes, but its most important result was the grant of representation to agricultural labourers. They had previously been of little political importance, and therefore were neglected by the government. Unlike the industrial worker, the country labourers had no unions or organisations of their own. The landowners, who represented agricultural interests in Parliament, were more concerned with the welfare of the tenant farmer than of the labourer, of whose conditions of life they often knew little. The enfranchisement of the labourer enabled him to make his grievances heard. It paved the way for later efforts to improve rural housing, to provide smallholdings, and in other ways to improve the condition of the agricultural worker, and to make him less eager to leave the country for the town.

The extension of the franchise by the Second and Third Reform Acts had marked effects upon election campaigning and party organisation. When voters were few and elections controlled by the upper classes, there was no need for electioneering of the modern type. But during the nineteenth century politicians learnt the value of popular campaigns: first, as in the case of the Anti-Corn Law League, to bring the pressure of public opinion upon the government, and then, after the enfranchisement of the working class, as a means of obtaining votes. Popular meetings, once viewed with suspicion as a cause of disorder, became usual, and politicians who addressed them were no longer regarded as demagogues. When Gladstone carried out his popular crusade against the Turks, at the time of the "Bulgarian atrocities" (1876), it was still considered a strange, and rather undignified, proceeding for an ex-Prime Minister to

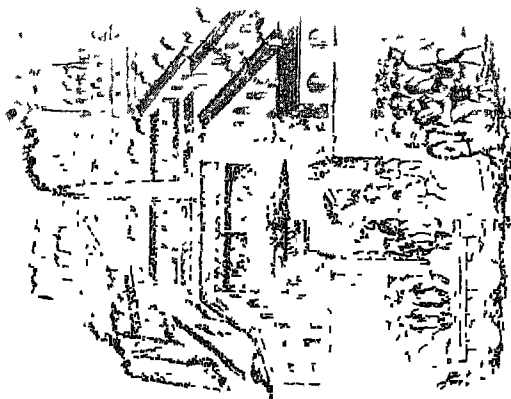
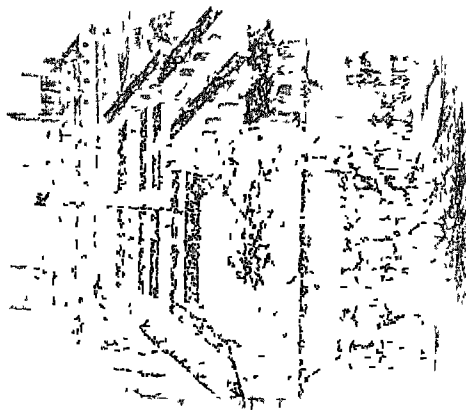
Rischgitz

THE HUSTINGS COVENT GARDEN

go about addressing casually gathered crowds But modern statesmen tour the country as a matter of course to carry on their political campaigns

PARTY ORGANISATION

At the same time, the political parties began to organise themselves to compete for the support of the new voters This development of party organisation was strongly influenced by Joseph Chamberlain and the Birmingham Political Union This had been developed by Chamberlain to secure the support of Birmingham for his own programme Liberal opinion in other constituencies was organised on similar lines, in order to obtain as many votes as possible for the Liberal party Conservatives, finding Liberal methods effective, began to imitate them Conservative and Liberal Associations were established, and elections began to be fought over party "programmes" laid down by the "central offices" of these associations, which were also responsible for the choosing of candidates This development of party organisation limited the functions of voters by presenting them only with a choice between candidates and measures approved by the leaders of the political parties

LIBERAL SPLIT ON HOME RULE POLICY

Except for the passing of the Third Reform Act Gladstone's second ministry was much less successful than his previous one It was growing difficult to produce any policy that could command the support of all sections of the Liberal party, which included men of a great variety of opinions There still remained a Whig section of the party, led by Lord Hartington, which considered much of the advanced Liberalism of Gladstone's views as too extreme, and which had much in common with the Conservatives Even the Radical left-wing of the party was divided There were old-fashioned Radical Nonconformists, like John Bright, who believed in free trade, peace, and the freedom of the individual from government interference There was also a new type of extreme Radical, led by Joseph Chamberlain, who advocated universal suffrage, abolition of the House of Lords, and heavy taxation of the rich to provide money for social services Chamberlain was regarded by some of the members of his own party as a red revolutionary. His disagreement with orthodox advanced Liberalism was made more

FACTORY SCENE, 1878

Rischgitz

irreconcilable by his imperialism, which conflicted with the pacifism of men like Gladstone and Bright It was obvious that a party which contained such diverse elements was likely to split upon some question or other. In this case, the question over which the Liberals disagreed was that of "Home Rule" for Ireland

Gladstone was still preoccupied with the Irish question, which he believed it to be his task to settle, and which the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the Land Act of his previous ministry had failed to solve By coming to terms with Parnell he might have managed to find a solution But the tragic murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish (1882) roused popular opinion against the Irish Nationalists, so the attempted alliance between Parnell and Gladstone came to nothing In 1885 the Irish party assisted the Conservatives to defeat the government.

The short period of Conservative rule that followed (1885-1886) was a mere episode Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded to the leadership of the Conservative party on the death of Disraeli (1881), was Prime Minister The Conservatives depended upon Irish support, and when Parnell found that they would not grant Home Rule, he once more transferred his allegiance to Gladstone The result was the Home Rule Bill of Gladstone's third ministry (1886), which split the Liberal party, and paved the way for a long period of Conservative rule

In adopting the cause of Home Rule Gladstone found himself opposed by two sections of the Liberal party the Whig followers of Lord Hartington, and Chamberlain, the leader of the Radicals He was defeated by the combination of his own discontented followers with the Conservatives But having once been converted to Home Rule, he refused to abandon it, and dissolving Parliament, appealed to the country His new Irish policy was not popular, and the policy of his ministry in South Africa and the Sudan had been even less so, so he did not obtain a sufficient majority to pass his measure

Home Rule became the chief political issue of the day. Its Liberal opponents joined with the Conservatives to form a Unionist party, in opposition to the Liberal Home Rulers A period of Unionist government followed, in which the Liberal governments of Gladstone (1892-1894), who made a last attempt before his retirement to pass a Home Rule Bill, and Rosebery (1894-1895), were no more than a short interval

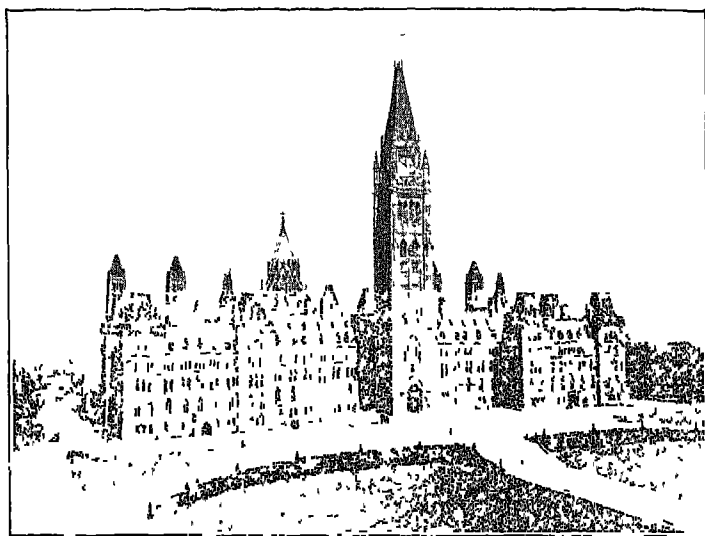
CHAPTER LI

CANADA, AUSTRALIA, & NEW ZEALAND

THE FRENCH-CANADIANS AND PITT'S CANADA ACT

The beginning of Canada was a French settlement established on the banks of the St Lawrence river in the early years of the seventeenth century The French built the towns of Quebec and Montreal, between which their farms stretched in a continuous line along the flat country of the St Lawrence valley to the mountains which bordered it At the same time a sprinkling of French trappers and traders was spread over the interior of the country The French were less ready than the English to settle in America Their government had schemes for an American empire, that inspired their attempt to seize the whole of the interior of the continent, and so led to the colonial struggle with England But Canada, when the English conquered it in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), contained only about 60,000 people

These French Canadians were Catholics, and were also simple country people, who were very much under the influence of their priests This, and their French nationality, made the treatment of them a problem to the British government, whose own colonists in America were already becoming restless and discontented But North's government proved much more successful in dealing with the French than with the English colonists By the advice of Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of Canada, it passed the Quebec Act (1774) This safeguarded the religious freedom of the Canadian Catholics, permitted the collection of tithes for the Catholic Church, and retained the use of French law and custom, except in criminal cases, which were to be tried by jury in the English manner The Act secured the loyalty of the French Canadians the more easily because French colonial government had been despotic and oppressive When their religious customs were secure from interference, the settlers did not resent foreign rule, and remained faithful to England during the War of American Independence (1775-1783)

During the war the American colonists attacked Canada, which was saved by the energy of Carleton. When the war was over, those colonists who had supported the British cause, the "United Empire Loyalists," flocked over the border. They settled in Nova Scotia, the province to the east of Canada which had once been the French settlement of Acadie obtained by England by the Peace of Utrecht (1713). They settled also in Canada itself, on the shores of Lake Ontario, to the west of the French Canadians. These settlers made Canada once more

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VIEW OF FEDERAL HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, OTTAWA, CANADA

a problem to England. In the English colonies, they had been used to self-government, and they neither liked the arbitrary government of Canada, nor agreed well with their French neighbours. To deal with this situation Pitt passed his Canada Act (1791), which divided Canada into two parts: Upper Canada, which was the new English district, and Lower Canada which was the original colony.

Each of these provinces was to have a Governor, a nominated Council, and a representative Assembly. The Assembly had limited powers. It passed laws and controlled taxation, but its

laws could be vetoed by the Governor, and colonial administration was controlled by the governor and council This division of Canada solved the racial problem for the time and prevented clashes between English and French Canadians But the French, who were not politically minded, showed no enthusiasm for the new system, which they suspected of being a device for extracting additional taxes from them

RELATIONS WITH U S A

From the first the liberated American colonies desired to add Canada to the United States The French Canadians realised that anti-Catholic feeling in the States would deprive their religion of its favoured position, and the " Loyalists " and their descendants remembered past persecution by the Americans So when the Anglo-American War (1812-1814) brought with it an attempt to conquer Canada, the Canadians remained loyal Though greatly outnumbered by their opponents, they had the support of Indian tribes, who had received fairer and more just treatment from the British government than from the Americans. But the colony was in grave danger, and was saved only by the skill of General Isaac Brock, who commanded the small force of British regular troops that garrisoned it, and who was killed during the course of the war

Trouble with the United States continued even when the war was ended The movement westwards into the interior of the continent caused boundary disputes, until the boundary between the two countries as far west as the Rocky Mountains was settled by Castlereagh in 1819 The population of Canada was increasing, for the depression in England that followed the Napoleonic war caused a stream of emigration, which continued through the hungry years of the middle of the century The increase in population brought with it rebellion and discontent In Upper Canada the new settlers found themselves looked down upon by the old " Loyalist " families These formed a clique, known as the " Family Compact," that monopolised seats on the Council of the colony, and controlled the administration ignoring the wishes of the popularly elected Assembly In Lower Canada the French Canadians complained that the Governor chose his Council from the small English minority in the colony, and that laws passed by their Assembly were vetoed, and they retaliated by refusing to vote taxes

CANADIAN REBELLIONS THE DURHAM REPORT

In 1837 rebellions occurred in both Upper and Lower Canada Though they were not very serious, and the leaders, Mackenzie and Papineau, soon fled to the United States, the British government was alarmed and sent out Lord Durham to deal with the situation Durham was a Radical of strong opinions and much energy, and gossip said that Melbourne's ministry sent him to Canada to rid themselves of his interference at home His views with regard to colonial questions were, like his other political opinions advanced In the first half of the nineteenth century, most people still regarded the colonies as existing for the benefit of the mother country The advocates of free trade, who did not expect to obtain any benefit from them, regarded colonies as a burden, and looked forward to a day when they would have declared their independence, as the United States had done But during the thirties a body of "colonial reformers" had developed under the influence of Gibbon Wakefield Wakefield advocated the reform of colonial administration, and the encouragement of emigration as a means of expanding the empire and of relieving distress at home. It was to this school of thought that Lord Durham belonged, and his survey of the Canadian situation and recommendations for the future treatment of the colony, the "Durham report" (1839), was the beginning of a new phase in colonial policy

The Durham report recommended the union of Upper and Lower Canada, with the idea that in this united province the English would outnumber the French It also recommended that responsible government should be granted to the colony, and so established the modern doctrine that British dependencies should follow a course of development into self-governing communities. But Durham's work was not at first received with favour at home His despotic, though efficient methods of suppressing the rebellions led to his recall in disgrace, and it was not till 1841 that the Canada Act united Upper and Lower Canada The colonial government consisted as before of a Governor, a Council, and a representative Assembly, but Durham's policy of responsible government was put into practice in the working of this system The Governor acted in accordance with the wishes of the Assembly, and chose his ministers from its majority The skilful management of Lord Elgin made the new

methods run smoothly, and educated the colonists in the use of their political rights, and the old political grievances came to an end.

THE NORTH AMERICA ACT

But racial differences still remained a problem. English and French Canadians did not become a united nation. They retained their differences of speech, customs, and religion, and the French feared that, in a united Canada, their own importance and influence would be swamped as the numbers of English settlers increased. Moreover, as the interior of the country was settled, new provision had to be made for its government. Therefore, it was determined to adopt a federal system, like that of the United States. This would permit French and English to develop on their own lines, and would make it possible to provide for the government of newly settled areas by the establishment of new states. In 1867 the British North America Act established the Dominion of Canada, a federation of four states, Quebec (Lower Canada), Ontario (Upper Canada), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick (a settlement of United Empire Loyalists, between Nova Scotia and Quebec). Newfoundland, off the Canadian coast, was not included in the Dominion.

OREGON AND THE PRAIRIES

Meanwhile the population of Canada was increasing, but not with the same steady movement westwards as took place in the United States. For a long time little was known about the interior of the country, and Canadian development was confined to the region of the St. Lawrence valley. In 1778 Captain Cook had visited the Pacific coast, which was explored in the later years of the eighteenth century by Captain Vancouver, whose name was given to Vancouver Island. This western region formed part of the vast area known as the Oregon country. It was claimed by both Canada and the United States, until the Oregon boundary settlement (1846) divided it between the two.

At the end of the eighteenth century the prairie lands of central Canada had been explored by Mackenzie. He discovered the Mackenzie River and explored it to its mouth. He also crossed the Rocky Mountains, and so reached the Pacific coast from the interior of the country. But a belt of desert divided

the prairies from the St Lawrence valley, and an attempt to plant a colony on the Red River (1812) failed In spite of exploration, Canada, beyond the St Lawrence valley, remained without agricultural settlements, and almost unknown except to wandering trappers and Indians

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY

In the frozen north of the country, the Hudson Bay Company, chartered in 1670, had established itself in the territory around Hudson's Bay, then known as Rupertsland, and had developed an important fur trade In 1838 the Company was granted the monopoly of all Canada to the west of Lake Winnipeg Since its activities were hunting and trapping, and not agriculture, it discouraged agricultural settlers, and represented the interior of the country as barren and worthless, for settlement would have driven the wild animals northwards But in 1856 gold was discovered in the Oregon region of the Pacific coast, and the discovery was followed by a rush of settlers, who went there to find gold, but in many cases stayed to establish farms In 1858 the Hudson Bay Company handed this region over to the government, and it became an independent colony, under the name of British Columbia In 1869 the Canadian government purchased the rest of the Company's territorial rights, and so acquired the vast and little-known region of the interior

The next year, 1870, was an eventful one Canada, having acquired such a vast extension of territory, at once set about the task of organising and exploring it The new state of Manitoba was added to the Dominion, and the half-breed trappers of the Red River district, seeing their rights endangered by the opening out of the country, rebelled unsuccessfully, under the leadership of a French Canadian, Louis Riel British Columbia agreed to enter the federation, and so, at a leap, the Dominion of Canada had extended its authority across the Continent to the Pacific

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES

A great area of unsettled country still remained in northern and central Canada. In 1880 all this was organised under a separate government as the North-West Territories Much of the north was frozen, barren, and unfit for settlement, but the

Canadian Pacific Photo

DRIVING SPIKES DURING THE TRACK CONSTRUCTION IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

problem of opening up the central prairies, and of connecting British Columbia with eastern Canada was solved by the building of the Canadian-Pacific Railway.

The first development of Canada had been along the St Lawrence valley the second stage of its history centred round this railway. The building of it was a great speculative venture, for it was built before, and not after, the settlement of the country The promise that it should be built was made to induce British Columbia to enter the federation (1870), but the work of building it was not completed till 1886 It made possible the development of central Canada into one of the great corn-growing regions of the world

The development of the prairie country of central Canada was followed by the addition of new states, Alberta and Saskatchewan, to the federation, and by the division of the north-west territory into districts

AUSTRALIA

The great explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries failed to discover Australia, for the continent lay well off the routes by which they crossed the Indian Ocean and the Pacific It was not till 1606, when the Dutch sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria, that its existence became known The Dutch East India Company was too interested in its valuable trade with the Spice Islands to pay attention to their new discovery A few ships touched there, but they did not find the tropical northern coast attractive It was not till 1642 that a Dutch captain, Tasman, sailed round to the south of the continent to the island, now called Tasmania, which he christened Van Dieman's Land The continent itself received the name of New Holland, but the Dutch did not continue its exploration, and little further interest was taken in it till the next century

In the eighteenth century the British Admiralty sent Captain James Cook to carry out exploration in the south Pacific Cook visited Australia three times (1768-1779), and mapped out almost the whole of its coastline In 1770 he landed on the eastern coast, and claimed the region for Great Britain under the name of New South Wales. At first England, like Holland, took little interest in Australia The period was that of the American War of Independence (1775-1783), and with the American colonies the English temporarily lost all faith in the value of

colonisation. It was felt that colonies, once firmly established, would inevitably break away from the mother country.

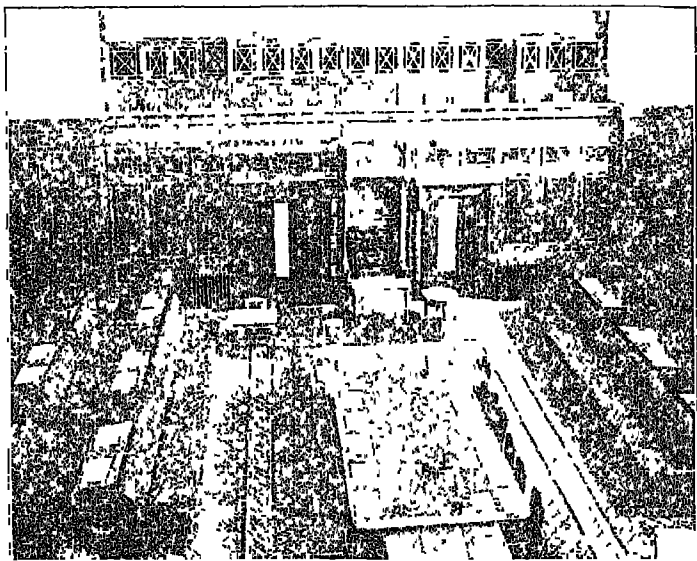
Their importance for trading purposes seemed discounted, when it was seen that British trade with America actually increased after the American colonies became free. Australia might have been altogether neglected if the idea of establishing a convict settlement in New South Wales had not been suggested.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SOUTH WALES

The transportation of rebels and criminals to the colonies had been begun because of the great demand for labourers in the American settlements and the West Indies. It had proved to be a convenient method of disposing of them. But the American War of Independence closed the American colonies as a dumping ground for convicts, so it was decided to transport them to New South Wales instead. In 1787 Captain Phillip, of the Royal Navy, was sent out in command of the first batch of convicts, and of the marines who were to guard them. In this rather dubious way the colonisation of Australia began.

When the convict settlement had been established, Great Britain, occupied with the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, had no interest to spare for it, and it was left under the control of a succession of military and naval governors. Perched on the edge of an unexplored continent, far from the routes usually followed by shipping, it was terribly isolated. But the coastal plain of New South Wales is a rich agricultural district, and it was soon able to supply its own food. It was at first a disorderly little community, for both convicts and garrison gave trouble. There was also fighting with the Australian natives. These were the "Blackfellows," a primitive race, cruelly treated by the earlier colonists. They decreased rapidly in numbers, and disappeared into the less habitable parts of the country before the advance of white settlers.

The first person to realise that New South Wales might become something more than a convict settlement was Governor Macquarrie (1815-1821). He was a rather tyrannical military officer, who reduced both garrison and convicts to order by strong measures and was finally recalled because of the complaints which his methods aroused. Macquarrie's aim was to develop the settlement into a free colony. There were already

a number of free settlers, for it was customary to grant land to members of the garrison whose period of service was ended, and also to ex-convicts In many cases these convicts were far from being criminals in the modern sense of the word The harsh criminal code, and repressive government of the beginning of the nineteenth century made transportation a punishment for minor offences and even for those who advocated political changes Macquarrie attempted to break down the social

Australia House

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CANBERRA

barrier between ex-convict and free settler He also encouraged the settlers to push their way across the Blue Mountains, which cut off the coastal plain from the interior of the country

On the other side was discovered an open down country, excellent for pasturage In 1797, Captain John Macarthur had begun the importation and scientific breeding of sheep, so the first step towards the development of Australia into a great wool-producing country had been taken In 1817 it was arranged that the worst convicts should be sent to Tasmania, where a convict settlement had been established in 1804 New South

Wales was now well on the way to becoming a settlement of free colonists, though convicts were still transported there till 1840 In 1823 military government ended, and the colony was ruled by a Governor and Council

OTHER AUSTRALIAN SETTLEMENTS

The development of New South Wales was followed by settlement in other parts of Australia. In 1826 convicts were sent to Moreton Bay, and their station, Brisbane, later became the chief port of Queensland A convict settlement at Port Phillip (1834), later Melbourne, was the beginning of the colony of Victoria But the fact that Australia was being made into a dumping ground for convicts discouraged emigration. In the thirties interest in the colonies was reviving, and the colonial reformers, led by Gibbon Wakefield, tried to encourage emigration to Australia as well as to Canada In 1829 there was an attempt to found a free settlement on the Swan River, at Perth, on the western side of the continent, as far as possible from the convict communities Though this was at first a failure, it led the way to the growth of the colony of Western Australia A similar settlement established itself at Adelaide (1834), in South Australia, as a result of the explorations of Sturt (1826-1831), who had discovered the course of the Murray and the Darling, the only important Australian river system

In the forties and fifties the transportation of convicts to the various Australian settlements almost ceased, though it was not finally abolished till 1865 In 1842 there was a beginning of responsible government with the establishment of a representative Assembly in New South Wales Durham's Report on the Canadian situation (1839) had led to the adoption of the principle that English colonies could gradually become self-governing communities In 1849-51 discoveries of gold were made in New South Wales and Victoria. There was a rush of settlers, and the existing administration was quite unable to deal with the disorder that followed. In 1854 therefore self-governing constitutions were granted to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania

As in Canada, these colonial governments were modelled upon that of Great Britain, with a Governor to represent the King, an Upper and Lower House But the colonists themselves had been

given a large share in the task of deciding how they should be ruled, and their ideas, as was natural in such communities, were very democratic Therefore Australian franchises were much wider than that of Great Britain had yet become But things did not work very well at first, and it was some time before the state of affairs in Australia afforded much encouragement to advocates of democracy elsewhere In 1859 responsible government was granted to Queensland and in 1890 to Western Australia

PROGRESS AND FEDERATION

After this, Australian progress continued to be rapid and uneventful Agriculture, sheep-farming and mining remained the chief occupations of the continent The black native population became smaller in numbers, and more and more confined to the interior and north of the country The colonies of Australia were white-man colonies, with a population almost exclusively British in origin All were inclined to exclude settlers of other races Common bonds of race, language, and interest held them together, though they were isolated communities, developing on independent lines

Conditions in the various colonies were made different by the many types of climate and vegetation which existed between the tropical north and the Mediterranean climate of southern Australia The settlement of the interior was hampered by the desert nature of much of the country and the lack of rain In the eastern half of the continent, these difficulties have been overcome by artificial irrigation and the digging of artesian wells

For a long time the federation of the Australian colonies on Canadian lines was discussed without anything being done Then the rivalry and encroachments of European powers in the Far East made the Australians realise the value of a common policy. In 1900 the Australian Commonwealth Act established a federation of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia, and Tasmania This federation was looser than that of Canada The states kept more power in their own hands, and gave less to the federal government Election to the federal Senate and House of Representatives was based on universal suffrage, and Australia continued to be very democratic and has carried out many experiments in state socialism

NEW ZEALAND

In 1769, when Captain Cook was carrying out his exploration of the Australian coast, he also visited the islands of New Zealand These, like his other discoveries, had little interest for the British governments of the period, which were altogether discouraged about colonisation But other white men followed Cook, and a disorderly collection of white rovers and traders soon began to visit the northern island, with very harmful effects

High Commissioner for New Zealand

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, WELLINGTON

to its native population, the Maoris In 1817 the Governor of New South Wales was ordered to make some attempt to keep these wanderers in order, though responsibility for New Zealand was still carefully disclaimed At the same time English missionaries were beginning the work of converting the Maoris, and the revival of English interest in colonisation, under the influence of Wakefield, resulted in private schemes for settlement on the islands. In 1840 the British government was at last persuaded to annex New Zealand

The immediate cause of this annexation was the trouble which had broken out between the white settlers and the Maoris. The Maoris were a warlike, but interesting and likeable race, and have played an important part in the history of the colony. In 1840 the Treaty of Waitongi was concluded with them, and they acknowledged British sovereignty in return for the promise that their right to the ownership of their lands should be protected. Land was not to be sold by a chief to a settler, but only by an entire tribe to the government. But the New Zealand Company, promoted in England to carry out schemes for emigration to New Zealand, disregarded the treaty. Fighting followed which might have endangered the future of the colony, if it had not fallen under the government of Sir George Grey (1845).

Grey enforced the terms of the Waitongi treaty, and prevented settlers from obtaining land by unfair methods. He gained the confidence of the Maoris, and bought up tracts of the country on which settlers could be established. He also prevented the premature grant of self-government to the new colony, which would have left the colonists free to deal with the Maoris as they chose.

Meanwhile colonisation had been proceeding rapidly, and settlements had been established at Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Otago, and Canterbury. In 1852 Grey felt that the time had come when it was safe to grant responsible government to the colonists, and the six settlements became independent provinces, each with an elected council. These six provinces were federated under a Governor, Council, and House of Representatives. Votes were given to all who possessed a small property qualification, and this had the result of excluding most of the Maoris from the franchise.

The control of native affairs was left to the governor, and after the recall of Grey, the Maoris became discontented with their lack of freedom, and with the spread of white settlers over their country. A movement for independence began, and the long Maoris Wars (1857-1871) threatened the existence of the colony. The Maoris seemed to be reverting to primitive savagery once more, though their courage and chivalry in warfare commanded respect. Regular troops proved ineffective in crushing them, and colonial methods of repression and confiscation only embittered them further, while the British

government grumbled at the expense of the struggle Finally the war ended through weariness rather than from any other cause, and in 1871 the Maoris acknowledged defeat, and were appeased by a grant of representation in the Assembly, and by more considerate treatment from the white settlers

The history of New Zealand now became one of peaceful development In 1876 the division into provinces was abolished, and a single united state formed In 1907 the country became a Dominion, and white men and Maoris seem to be working out a solution of their problem of existing side by side

CHAPTER LII

INDIA AND AFRICA

INDIA AND THE ACT OF 1858

Soon after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny the long career of the East India Company came to an end, and the British government accepted full responsibility for India By the India Act of 1858 Indian affairs were put under the control of a Secretary for State, with a Council of experts to advise him The Governor-General of India was transformed into a Viceroy of the Crown He was assisted by an Executive Council, which controlled administration, and a Legislative Council whose assent was necessary for the passing of new laws The Company's officials became the Indian Civil Service

The new constitution did not involve any startling changes in the government of India Long before the Company finally disappeared, it had both ceased to trade and had handed over the greater part of its political authority to Parliament But the Mutiny, by shaking British confidence, had produced a change in the spirit of Indian administration There was even less inclination than in the days of the Company to admit Indians to a share in their own government, and the country was governed efficiently but despotically by British officials A social gulf, too, was opening between the Indians and their English rulers Improved means of transport made it easier for soldiers and officials in India to keep in touch with England and to take their wives and families to India with them The result was that English and Indians drew apart into independent social communities For the same reasons the Indian authorities could be more closely controlled by the British government, and had less opportunity than before for independent action

THE INDIAN EMPIRE

India was not at this time inclined to agitate for responsible government As Dalhousie's policy of trying to bring the states of the Indian princes under direct British rule was abandoned,

Proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India at Delhi on January 1st, 1877

and the rights of the princes were guaranteed, the country once more settled down The work of building roads, canals, and railways was continued, and efforts were made to deal with the problem of famine by a better organisation of Indian agriculture Meanwhile, education was introducing a small section of Indians to western ideas, and so laying the foundation of their later demands for freedom. In 1861 they were granted a small measure of local self-government But the general tendency seemed to be away from self-governing institutions and towards a benevolent despotism This idea found expression in the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Queen Victoria (1877)

In procuring this title for the Queen, Lord Beaconsfield was giving rein to his own sense of the fascination and splendour of dominion over the East India appealed to his imagination, as did the whole imperial idea, and his second ministry (1874-1880) began the most vigorous period of British imperialist sentiment The safety of India was perhaps the most important factor in deciding Beaconsfield's foreign policy It was the cause of his opposition to Russian ambitions, which showed itself not only at the Congress of Berlin, where he imposed a check on Russian ambitions in the Balkans, but also in the Second Afghan War (1878-1880)

RUSSIA AND THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

During the nineteenth century the Russians were not only trying to extend their influence over the Balkans at the expense of Turkey, but were spreading rapidly across Siberia In 1860, they established themselves on the Pacific at Vladivostock This advance brought them near the frontiers of India, as Palmerston had foreseen when he predicted, in 1840, that Englishman and Russian would meet in central Asia

The greater part of the northern Indian frontier was guarded by the impassable barrier of the Himalayas, but at its western end the mountain chain could be crossed by passes It was through this gateway that Asiatic invaders had always entered India To the north of the Indian frontier, at this point, lay the kingdom of Afghanistan, which commanded the passes into India. The disastrous course of the First Afghan War had made the British reluctant to interfere again in Afghanistan But the

Russians, having completed their advance across Siberia, turned south, and by overcoming the tribes of Turkestan, advanced nearer and nearer to India. It was felt that the Afghans should not be permitted to fall under Russian influence. So when, in 1878, the year of Beaconsfield's check to Russia at Berlin, Shere Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan received a Russian mission and refused to receive a British one, British troops were again sent to Afghanistan.

The memory of the Khyber disaster (1847) caused the campaign to be very carefully planned. Three British forces, under the command of Browne, Stewart, and Roberts, advanced on the Amir's capital, Kabul. Russia gave Shere Ali no support, which suggests that the Russian danger to India may have been less great than Beaconsfield supposed. The Amir fled, and died soon afterwards. The British withdrew, after forcing his successor, Yakub Khan, to accept a British resident and to hand over to Britain the control of his relations with foreign countries.

Soon afterwards the Resident was murdered, and it became necessary to send Stewart and Roberts against Kabul once more (1880). At first things went badly. A British force was defeated at Maiwand and shut up in Kandahar, which meant that the Afghans had once more dealt a tremendous blow to British military prestige in the East. But Roberts relieved Kandahar by a remarkable three weeks march from Kabul. The Afghan army broke up and vanished, and the British were able to impose a new Amir, Abdurrahman, upon Afghanistan, and to restore their influence over the country.

In 1885 a new alarm followed for, having completed their conquest of Turkestan, the Russians occupied Pendjeh on the Afghan border. Gladstone, though far from being an imperialist like Beaconsfield, was seriously alarmed, and it was obvious that England was prepared to go to war over the matter. Russia made no further advance, and from this time the Czar abandoned all designs upon India and began to interest himself in the Far East instead. This change of Russian policy not only led up to the Russo-Japanese rivalry in Manchuria but, by permitting British suspicion of Russia gradually to die down, paved the way for the development of the Anglo-Russian friendship of the twentieth century.

THE DEMAND FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT .

Meanwhile, under the influence of western ideals and education, the Indians were beginning to desire self-government The war, divisions, and anarchy that followed the decline of the Mogul empire had at first left them thankful for the peace given by the domination of a single strong power But with peace and unity came the opportunity for a national revival The Anglo-Indians were inclined to regard the Indians as an inferior race This made the Indians inclined to assert their own equality by upholding the merits of their native culture and traditions The researches of western scholars helped to inspire interest in the past, and a revival of Hinduism took place, associated with a desire for both religious and social reforms At the same time western ideas were filling the mind of the educated Indian Despotism no longer seemed natural to him, and he desired for India the same responsible government as Britain was granting to her colonies This movement for social reform and for self-government expressed itself in the establishment of the Indian National Congress (1885)

At the same time British ideas concerning Indian government were becoming more liberal Under the rule of Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Lansdowne, attempts were made to give Indians some share in their own government by establishing local boards and municipal councils These, though elected on a very narrow franchise and entrusted with little responsibility, were an attempt to introduce something like English local government into India Also British officials were given advisory councils with Indian members

But these experiments did not work very well The Anglo-Indian civil servant resented native interference with his work, and the advisory councils were often meddling and inefficient Lord Curzon (1898-1908), who was a very efficient, though autocratic, viceroy, was opposed to responsible government for India He followed a policy of strengthening the bonds between Britain and the Indian princes, and giving British India good, though despotic government

But, in 1909, the Liberal Secretary for India, Lord Morley, and the Viceroy, Lord Minto, drew up and passed the Indian Councils Act This gave Indians a majority on the advisory councils, and allowed the Indian members of these councils to

be elected, on a very narrow franchise, instead of being chosen by the government. This meant that India received a narrow measure of representation, but, as advisory councils could only give opinions, British officials were not under their control and remained the real governors of the country. Before the war, Indian self-government did not advance further than this right to elect members to advisory councils.

AFRICA AND THE SLAVE TRADE

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the interior of Africa was still unexplored by Europeans. Their few settlements, scattered along the coast of the continent, were no more than centres for the slave trade, or ports at which ships could stop for provisions on their long voyage to the East. Even north Africa which had formed part of the Roman Empire, had long been cut off from Europe by Mohammedan conquest. Its Barbary pirates still attacked the shipping of the Mediterranean, and though its rulers were practically independent, it still formed part of the Turkish empire.

Nothing was known of Africa south of the Sahara until the fifteenth century. Then the explorations of the Portuguese and the discovery of the Cape route to India made Europeans familiar with the African coast. For a time the Portuguese controlled the trade of the Indian Ocean and established ports in Africa. In the seventeenth century when the English and Dutch had become rivals for eastern trade, the Dutch made a port of call for their India fleet at the Cape of Good Hope.

England's first African interest was the profitable slave trade, begun by John Hawkins in Elizabeth's reign. This was carried on between the west coast of Africa, the "Guinea Coast," and the West Indian and American colonies. In Charles II.'s reign the Royal African Company was chartered to deal with this trade. Bases were established on the Guinea Coast which developed into the small West African colonies of Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast. The slave trade, of which Liverpool and Bristol were the centres, was organised on a system known as the "Great Triangle." This consisted of a voyage to Africa with goods to be exchanged for slaves, the "middle passage" with slaves across the Atlantic, and the return voyage to England with a cargo of West Indian or American goods.

Thus enormous profits were made. The trade played an important part in international relations, and the right to supply slaves to the Spanish colonies was regarded as one of the most valuable British gains by the Treaty of Utrecht.

BRITISH AND BOERS IN CAPE COLONY

With the abolition of the slave trade (1807) England lost interest in Africa. When, by the settlement that followed the downfall of Napoleon, she obtained Cape Colony from the Dutch, she did not make any effort to expand her new colony. The country around the Cape was already occupied by Dutch settlers, the Boers. As most of it was grazing land, the Boer farmers led a rough independent life in scattered farms, and isolation had left them deeply attached to their own religion and customs. English settlers were sent out to Algoa Bay, on the east of the colony. Dutch and English did not mix, but the fact that both were menaced by the warlike Kaffir tribes, who held the interior of the country, united them for defence, and the colony was at first contented and peaceable.

Unfortunately English and Boers did not continue to agree. In England the Methodist and Evangelical religious revivals, had inspired a new interest in the native races of Africa, and an outburst of activity for their conversion. Missionaries went to the Cape to work among the Kaffirs, and were shocked by the attitude of the Boer farmers to the African natives. The Boers, with strong religious convictions based on the Old Testament, saw themselves as a chosen people in Africa with every right to make the native races their servants. This attitude was strengthened by the hostility born of years of fighting against warlike Kaffir tribes. They not only made the natives their slaves, but treated them harshly, and often cruelly. The missionaries, full of sympathy for the victims of oppression, overlooked the isolated and dangerous position of Boer farmers, the ferocity of many African tribes, and the fact that the English themselves had only recently abandoned the horrors of the slave trade. They denounced the Boers vigorously, creating a feeling of hostility between them and the English.

The home government held the same humanitarian views as the missionaries. In 1833 the abolition of slavery throughout the British empire deprived the Boers of their native slaves. The

measure was an excellent one, and as compensation was paid to slave owners, the British public felt that it had involved no unfairness. The Boers thought otherwise They had no moral objection to slavery, and felt that they had been forcibly deprived of their property for a payment of not more than half its market value They were by now thoroughly discontented with British rule When the British government refused to give them protection against their native enemies by annexing the land of the Kosa Kaffirs on the east of Cape Colony, they began to leave British territory in large numbers

THE "GREAT TREK" AND THE BOER REPUBLICS

The movement of Boers out of Cape Colony, known as the "Great Trek" (1836), continued for several years The emigrants crossed the Orange and Vaal rivers, driving the natives before them, and settled in the areas which later became the Transvaal and the Orange Free State The British did not oppose the departure of the Boers, but considered that they were still, in theory, British subjects. When a number of them crossed the Drakensburg Mountains into the coastal region of Natal, Natal was formally annexed (1843), in spite of Boer protests.

But British policy with regard to the other Boer settlements was undecided and variable. The British government did not want to undertake new responsibilities in country where they were opposed by hostile Boers and warlike native tribes African colonies were considered valueless, and the enthusiasts for emigration, who were developing Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, took little interest in them But in Africa itself, the missionaries wanted British protection for their native converts and the colonial authorities wanted to extend British power In 1847 Sir Harry Smith brought the Orange Free State under British authority

But the Transvaal Boers remained hostile, and Lord Aberdeen's government, harassed by Kaffir wars and Boer opposition, was eager to withdraw In 1852 the independence of the Transvaal was acknowledged by the Sand River Convention In 1854 the British withdrew from the Orange Free State by the Convention of Bloemfontein, although its inhabitants were unwilling to lose British protection, and remained friendly

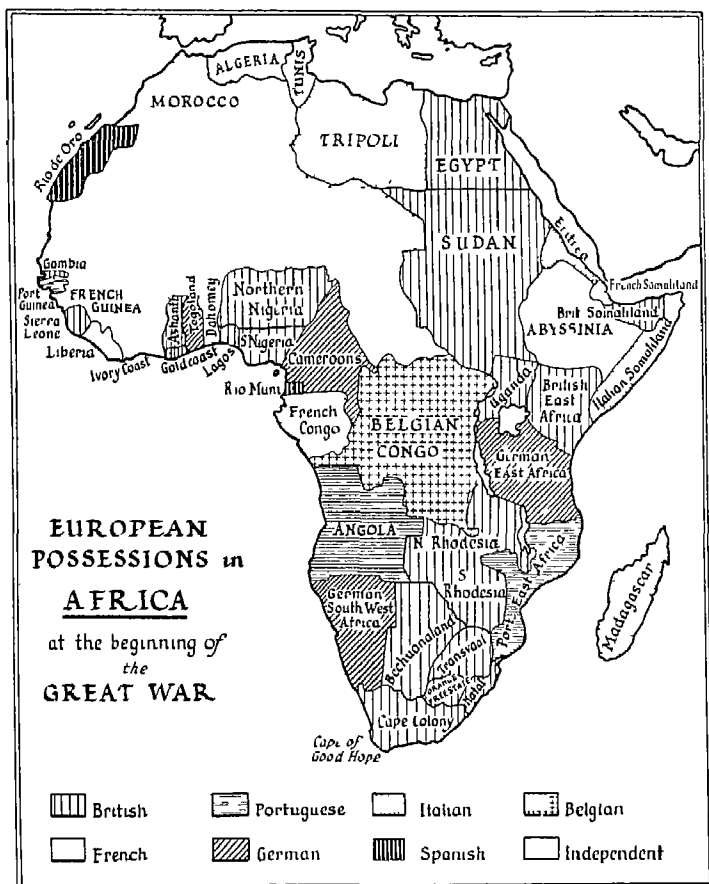
towards Britain Thus, at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, two British colonies, Cape Colony and Natal, and two independent Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, existed in South Africa

THE VOORTREKKERS
From the mural painting in S Africa House

BRITISH AND FRENCH IN NORTH AFRICA

During the second half of the nineteenth century Great Britain lost her indifference to possessions in Africa In North Africa she became involved in Egyptian affairs, and entered upon

a period of colonial rivalry with France The exploration of the interior of the continent led Europe to realise the possibilities of exploring it The "scramble for Africa" followed, which had far-reaching effects upon the relations of the European powers with each other

Under the influence of Disraeli British "imperialism" revived in the seventies, and obtained a strong hold upon popular imagination Writers and poets sang the praises of the

AFRICA IN 1914

British Empire South African missionaries, who had regarded the extension of British authority as a means of protecting the African natives, were succeeded by Cecil Rhodes, who had a sincere belief in the value of British government to native peoples Rhodes added two new provinces to the empire Chartered companies were once more founded to develop newly discovered regions Finally, the discovery of gold in the Transvaal caused the quarrel with the Boers that developed into the South African War

France was the first European power to seize part of North Africa in the nineteenth century, for the French had dreams of reviving the North African empire of Rome In 1830 she annexed Algiers, the home of the Barbary pirates, and gradually subdued the Algerine chiefs In the hope of extending her influence over Egypt and Syria, she supported Mehemet Ali, the Albanian adventurer who had obtained control of Egypt after the failure of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition Mehemet was able, though cruel, and he not only governed Egypt efficiently, but also conquered the Sudan and built Khartoum It was only the energetic policy of Palmerston (1840) that prevented him from conquering the dominions of his overlord, the Sultan of Turkey

The quarrel of England and France over Mehemet Ali foreshadowed their later rivalry in Egypt Mehemet's successors were much less capable than he Ismail, who became Khedive of Egypt in 1867, was genuinely interested in the westernisation of his country, and planned railways, harbours, and a telegraph system But he was extravagant, and borrowed so much money from European financiers that he became bankrupt

THE OCCUPATION OF EGYPT

The Khedive's lack of money had important results France had been maintaining her interest in Egyptian affairs, and a Frenchman, De Lesseps, undertook the task of making the Suez Canal, which was completed in 1869 The Canal opened a new route to India by sea, and for this reason Palmerston had opposed its construction. Disraeli saw in the Khedive's need of money an opportunity to obtain control of the Canal for Britain, and bought Ismail's shares in the Company that owned

it (1875). Ismail's difficulties did not only give Britain control of the Suez Canal. When the Khedive became bankrupt, the European financiers who had lent him money found themselves likely to incur heavy losses. Therefore France and England together took control of the country's finances with the consent of the other great powers (1879). Ismail was deposed by his overlord, the Sultan of Turkey, and replaced by a new Khedive, Tewfik.

To take control of the finances of a country is practically to govern it, and the Khedive Tewfik was little more than a puppet under the guidance of France and England. This "Dual Control" so irritated the Egyptians that a nationalist rising occurred, led by Arabi Pasha, a colonel in the Egyptian army. Arabi established a military dictatorship, and riots occurred in Alexandria, in which many Europeans were killed, and the rest driven out. The French refused to take action, but Gladstone's government, usually pacific, acted vigorously. Alexandria was bombarded and Sir Garnet Wolseley, sent against Arabi with a British army, completely defeated him at Tel-el-Kebir (1882). England then, to the great annoyance of France, took sole control of Egyptian affairs. Gladstone, who disapproved of attempts to control other nations, assured Europe that the British occupation of Egypt was only temporary.

Actually, Egypt remained under British control for the next forty years, although the nominal ruler was still the Khedive. The British occupation was beneficial, for Lord Cromer, the British representative in the country (1883-1907) carried out important measures of reconstruction. British engineers were employed to devise and carry out schemes for the irrigation of the country and railways were built. Egyptian prosperity so greatly increased that, although the rate of taxation had been lowered, the revenue was doubled. Slavery was abolished, and the Egyptian peasant was freed from the oppression by which work and taxes had previously been extracted from him. An efficient Egyptian army under British officers, was trained. But after Cromer's departure the administration declined and a nationalist movement arose among the Egyptians, who had always resented British neglect of their national customs and prejudices.

THE MAHDI GORDON IN THE SUDAN

The occupation of Egypt did not only involve the hostility of France, but also led England into difficulties in the Sudan The Khedive Ismail had added fresh annexations to Mehemet Ali's conquests in that region The Sudanese hated Egyptian rule, and revolted under a religious leader, known as the "Mahdi" By the time at which the British assumed control of Egypt, this rising had developed into a "holy war" on a serious scale, and the Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan were in great peril A force, commanded by Hicks, sent against the Mahdi, was completely destroyed (1883). Gladstone's government, pacifically inclined, and opposed to the acquisition of further territory, determined that, when the Egyptian troops in the Sudan had been rescued, the country must be evacuated

Unfortunately Gladstone chose General Gordon to carry out this task Gordon was a professional soldier, who had made a reputation in the employ of the Chinese government He had then been for some time employed by Ismail to govern the Sudan, where he had done valuable work in checking the slave trade Gladstone chose him to carry out the evacuation because of his knowledge of the country, but the choice was rather obviously unwise Gordon did not wish the region in which he had worked to be abandoned, and was known to be inclined to act on his own initiative

Once in Khartoum, he disregarded his orders, and prepared to attack the Mahdi instead of leaving the Sudan to him, with the result that Gordon and his Egyptian troops were besieged in Khartoum Gladstone was reluctant to send help, because he regarded the whole incident as an attempt to force the hand of the government When troops were finally sent to the Sudan under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, they arrived to find Khartoum taken, and Gordon already dead (1885) Gordon's courage appealed to the English, and he became a national hero The Gladstone administration was denounced for failing to save him, and the re-conquest of the Sudan was demanded Gladstone refused to give way, though the unpopularity of his policy helped to cause his defeat at the next election The Sudan was evacuated and remained independent till the nineties

Gooch

THE DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON AT KHARTOUM

ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY THE CONGO

An important result of European colonisation in Africa was its effect upon the relations of the European powers with each other. The African ambitions of Europe were skilfully used by Bismarck in his policy of keeping France isolated and Germany the centre of a system of European alliances. So long as Great Britain and France were rivals in Africa it was certain that they would not become allies in Europe, so Bismarck encouraged the English to occupy Egypt in spite of French opposition (1882). He also suggested to France her occupation of Tunis (1881) to the east of her colony of Algeria. He knew that Italy wanted Tunis, and that, by this means, he was breaking up the old friendship between Italy and France, with the result that, in 1882, Italy joined Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance.

In the second half of the nineteenth century European knowledge of the interior of Africa rapidly increased. Speke and Baker had discovered the source of the Nile. Livingstone had explored the Zambesi river and the lakes to the north of it, and had reached the head waters of the Congo (1850-1870). Stanley, carrying on Livingstone's work, had explored the Congo basin until he reached the sea. He also advanced beyond the lakes to the north of the Zambesi, and discovered Lake Victoria Nyanza.

England, still not very interested in the acquisition of new colonies in Africa, neglected Stanley. It was King Leopold II. of Belgium who financed his Congo explorations, and formed the Congo Association to exploit them, with the result that the Congo Free State was established by international agreement (1885). By disregarding his engagements with the other powers, Leopold brought the Congo completely under Belgian control. In 1907 he handed it over to his country and it became the Belgian Congo.

GERMAN COLONIES

Meanwhile German merchants were discontented with Bismarck's policy of standing outside the scramble for Africa, and encouraging other powers to occupy themselves there while he controlled Europe. In the eighties therefore Germany suddenly adopted a vigorous colonial policy. In 1884 the

Germans annexed the Cameroons, Togoland, and German South-west Africa, between Cape Colony and the Portuguese colony of Angola. In 1885 they obtained German East Africa, thus acquiring a colonial empire in two years.

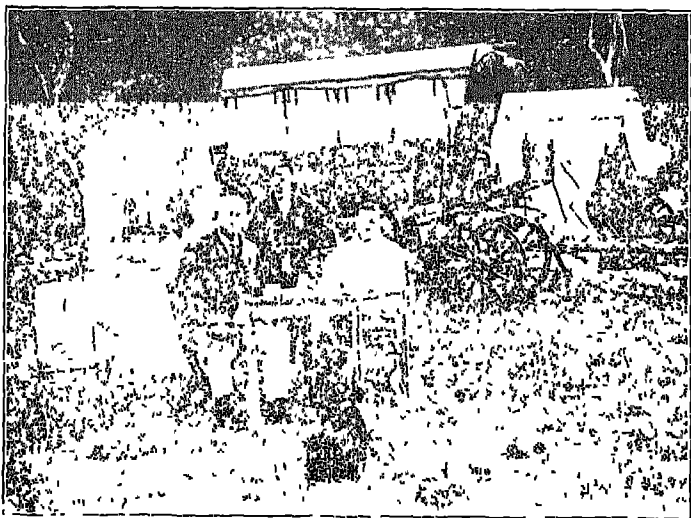
These colonies were annexed peacefully because the British, whose African interests were involved, gave way to German demands, in spite of a good deal of provocation. Britain was still engaged in her colonial rivalry with France, who was rapidly spreading her authority over north-west Africa and the two powers were racing each other to obtain control of the Niger basin. In spite of the unhealthiness of the region, British merchants had established a valuable trade there. Their work was continued by the Royal Niger Company, chartered in 1886, which bought out the claims of the French. In 1899 the British government established a Protectorate over Nigeria. In the twentieth century Lord Lugard stamped out cannibalism and slave-raiding, and began an interesting experiment in governing the native tribes through their own chiefs.

THE PARTITIONING OF AFRICA: THE SUDAN

The situation in Africa was now becoming very complicated, and threatened to lead to quarrels in Europe. In addition to the annexations made by Great Britain, France and Germany, Italy was establishing claims in Eritrea and Somaliland. Moreover Spain had obtained a colony in north-west Africa, and Portugal was extending the boundaries of her ancient African possessions. So in 1890-91 the European powers divided up the continent by a series of treaties which settled their respective spheres of influence for the moment, though the work of partitioning out Africa was by no means ended. The boundary between the territory of the British East Africa Company, chartered in 1888, and German East Africa was fixed. Soon afterwards British East Africa became a Protectorate (1894). A British Protectorate had already been established (1893) over Uganda, the inland region opened out by Stanley's exploration of Lake Victoria Nyanza.

Imperialism was rapidly gaining ground in Great Britain, and the French, who were extending their rule across the Sahara, were solemnly warned against attempting to gain control of the upper Nile (1895). The British in Egypt found that their

Bechuanaland, between the Transvaal and German South-west Africa, and so to secure a road to the north

He then set about the task of securing the land north of the Transvaal, where the Boers were already trying to obtain concessions from Lobengula, the King of the Matabele In 1888 the South African Company was chartered to develop this region, and its settlement was begun immediately. Trouble with the Matabele followed, and when they had been conquered the Company took over the government of their territory, to which

High Commissioner for S Rhodesia
CECIL RHODES ON THE VELDT

the name of Rhodesia was given (1894) About the same time settlement still further north was begun, in the tropical region, now known as Northern Rhodesia In Southern Rhodesia the rule of the Company lasted till 1923, when it was abolished, and the colony obtained self-government

THE JAMESON RAID

The growth of British possessions in South Africa left the Boer Republics almost encircled by British territory, and this encouraged the Uitlanders in the Transvaal to try to overthrow the Kruger government In this they had the sympathy of

Rhodes, who, as Prime Minister of Cape Colony, as the controlling influence of the South African Company in Rhodesia, and as one of the gold-mining magnates of the Rand, was the most important man in South Africa. A plot was made for a rising in the Transvaal, which was to be supported by an invasion by the troops of the South African Company on the northern border But the plan completely miscarried, and the rising did not take place When Rhodes' associate, Dr Jameson, rashly invaded the Transvaal with a small force of 500 troopers he was easily captured by the Boers, and was handed over to the British government for trial

This Jameson raid (1895) had disastrous results It discredited Rhodes, and undid all that he had previously achieved in encouraging friendly relations between English and Boers It led the Boers of the Orange Free State, and of Cape Colony to sympathise with those of the Transvaal Also it placed the British government in a false position There were suggestions that the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, had been aware of the plan and these were not very effectively repudiated at the official enquiry into the incident

The raid had a bad effect on relations between England and Germany The Kaiser, who had already made a parade of sympathy with the Boers, now sent a telegram of congratulation to President Kruger on the failure of the raid This provoked strong anti-German feeling in England

THE BOER WAR

British opinion was divided on the subject of the Uitlanders, but in 1899 the imperialist Colonial Secretary, Chamberlain, answered their appeal for support He instructed Sir Alfred Milner to open negotiations with President Kruger to secure their admission to the citizenship of Transvaal When Kruger refused this, the British claim to suzerainty over the Boers was again revived It was thought that Kruger would certainly give way, and when he issued an ultimatum (1899) instead, he found the British government unprepared for war All Europe, and a section of opinion in Britain sympathised with the small Boer state, against which all the weight of British power was being used But actually the Boers proved to be formidable opponents They were well armed, and their troops greatly outnumbered the British forces then available in South Africa.

The Orange Free State supported the Transvaal. The British, who had expected an easy victory, were outgeneralled, and disconcerted by the Boers rapid action. Mafeking and Kimberley were besieged, and an invasion of Natal was followed by the siege of Ladysmith. The British suffered various reverses, and Buller was defeated at Colenso and Spion Kop. The battles were not really important, but they destroyed British assurance of rapid success, and created more national depression than now seems to be justified by the seriousness of the reverses.

The generals on the spot had failed to cope with the situation, so in 1900 Roberts and Kitchener were sent out with additional forces to take command. Roberts saw that the best way to force the Boers to withdraw from British territory was by a direct advance on the Orange Free State, which would threaten their communications. This strategy rapidly proved successful. A Boer army had to surrender to Kitchener at Paardeberg, and Kimberley and Ladysmith were relieved. Roberts took Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, and then invaded the Transvaal. The relief of Mafeking, which had been defended by Colonel Baden-Powell, caused great excitement in England. In June Roberts entered Pretoria, and the Transvaal was in British hands.

The Boer republics were now annexed, and the war seemed to be at an end. But all over the country Boer irregular forces, under Smuts, Botha, De Wet, and De La Rey, continued to resist. Their rapid movements and the wide area of country over which they ranged made it difficult for the British generals to deal with the situation. Finally, Kitchener divided the country into sections by lines of blockhouses, and methodically cleared it. The work necessitated the burning of farms and the herding of Boer women and children in concentration camps. This manner of warfare was inglorious and unpleasant, and made Great Britain unpopular in Europe. It was not till 1902 that the Boers admitted defeat and the Peace of Vereeniging was concluded. If the struggle had been bitter, the peace terms were wise and moderate. The Boers acknowledged themselves to be British subjects, but their states were promised self-government, and the British government granted a sum of money to help in the restoration of the Boer farms that had been destroyed.

The Liberal government which came into power in 1905 immediately granted the self-government promised to the Boers

Though the measure was denounced at the time as rash, it proved to be the basis of Anglo-Boer friendship. In 1909 the Union of South Africa was established the states included in it being the Cape, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal The

High Commissioner for S Rhodesia

EXCAVATING RHODES' TOMB

Union was not federal like those of Canada and Australia, but a Parliamentary union like that of Great Britain It settled the political problem of Englishman and Boers in South Africa, but has left that of white men and natives still to be solved

CHAPTER LIII

ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CONDITIONS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

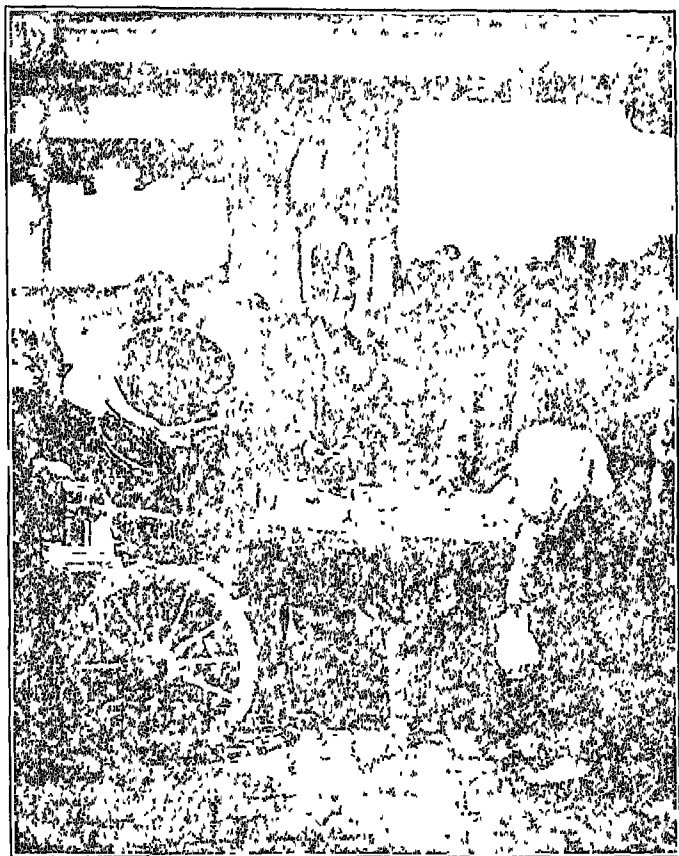
The nineteenth century was a period of great and rapid changes. When it opened, England was still a mainly agricultural country, and the age of machinery was only beginning There were no railways, and traffic had to move along the roads There was no telegraph, gas for lighting, telephone, or electricity, and the postal service was too expensive to be used by poor people Ships were still built of wood and propelled by sails

Local government was still in the hands of the squires in the country, and, as a rule, of a small body of the wealthier citizens in the towns Parliament was controlled by the aristocracy, and most people had no voice in its election There was no police force, so riots were frequent, and there was no means of dealing with them except by summoning the aid of the local militia. The criminal code was so harsh that people were still hanged or transported for small offences The eighteenth century view that there was a divine, or natural, order in society as it existed, that it was the business of the poor to be content with their lot, still persisted It was thought that all reforming movements tended to upheavals like the French Revolution, and to general anarchy But industrial changes, which gave poor men a chance of making a fortune, were already upsetting this comfortable attitude, and paving the way for nineteenth-century individualism

FARMING AND REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

In the nineteenth century the process of enclosing the common land for farms, and so turning England from a land of open fields into one of hedges continued and was practically completed The work of the eighteenth-century pioneers in stock-breeding had taught farmers the value of pedigree sheep and cattle, so the standard of flocks and herds continued to improve Farming had become altogether more scientific More efficient methods

of drainage were used, and artificial manures were employed, in addition to the old rotation of crops, to keep the land fertile

Scientific farming meant that the farmer had to invest more money in his land and his live stock The large farmer with

London in the '70's—the Cheap Fishmonger

capital had a great advantage over the man with a small farm and little spare money, especially as prices varied, and small farmers were often ruined by a fall in the value of their crops In the first part of the century improved methods did not bring

great prosperity to farming. But they secured an increase in the amount of food grown, and so provided for the rapidly increasing population.

Until 1846 the Corn Laws protected English farming from foreign competition, and it was predicted that their repeal would ruin agriculture. In the fifties and sixties this prophecy proved incorrect, and agriculture was more flourishing than before. But during this period the supply of foreign wheat was restricted first by the war with Russia in the Crimea, and then by the American Civil War. In the seventies and eighties the importation of wheat from America, and the opening out of the Canadian prairies exposed British farmers to disastrous competition. The price of wheat fell, and sheep and cattle became more profitable than corn, so much wheatland was put under grass. In the eighties and nineties the import of beef from the Argentine and of mutton from New Zealand and Australia exposed the farmer to yet another form of competition, and so revived the arguments for the protection of agriculture.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS: VILLAGE LIFE

During the eighteenth century the condition of farm labourers had become worse, and, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, enclosures and improved methods of farming led to the disappearance of the small independent cultivators, the yeomen, who had played an important part in English country life. This left country people divided into the comparatively prosperous farmers and the labourers, whose condition at the beginning of the nineteenth century was wretched. Labourers' wages were so low that they were regularly supplemented by poor relief. The result was both to pauperise the labourer, and to burden the farmer with a heavy poor rate.

The Poor Law (1834), by stopping outdoor relief to the able-bodied, ended pauperisation, but left the labourer with no refuge but the work-house, when old or out of work. The result of wretched conditions was that the country worker either drifted to the towns or became an unskilled worker in railway construction, and as farm labourers became scarcer, they were better paid. In the last half of the century their wages were about twelve or thirteen shillings a week. In 1883 they obtained votes,

and so were better able to call the attention of the government to their grievances.

The nineteenth century saw a decline in the importance of village life, and a great change in local institutions. At the beginning of the century the village was still a rather independent community, usually with its squire and clergyman, as magistrates in control of local affairs, and with its cottage industries of spinning, weaving, and knitting. With the increased use of machinery it lost its manufactures, and village people became altogether dependent on their agricultural earnings. But in the country local government remained under the control of the magistrates till the County Councils Act (1888) and the Parish Councils Act (1894) placed it in the hands of representative bodies.

MECHANISATION OF INDUSTRY. PUBLIC HEALTH

During the nineteenth century England was transformed from an agricultural country into an industrial one. The use of machinery and steam power in manufacture made it necessary for workers to be gathered into factories, instead of carrying on their occupation in small workshops, or in their own cottages. Industry became less widely spread over the countryside, and more concentrated in towns, which grew rapidly as houses were hastily built to accommodate the people who flocked there. In the past the poor had always lived under bad and insanitary conditions, both in towns and in many of the country cottages. The streets of new houses run up by speculative builders in the new industrial centres were jerry-built, unattractive, and crowded.

Often the whole condition of the town was bad. Working class areas were undrained, had no water supply, and no arrangements for collecting refuse, which was thrown into the streets. The result of such conditions was epidemics of typhoid and cholera, and a high death-rate. In the middle of the century a Public Health Act was passed (1848), which was a first step towards later measures for the improvement of sanitation and housing.

The industry in which machinery most rapidly replaced handwork was the cotton manufacture, which had had its beginnings in the eighteenth century and was still young and progressive. The older and more conservative woollen trade was more slow to adopt the new machines, and hand-weaving

was not superseded by power looms till the middle of the nineteenth century. When machinery came into general use and was made of iron instead of wood, the iron trade became more and more important Railway construction created a great demand for iron, machines were invented to make other machines, and the modern engineering industries were created In the second half of the century steel began to replace iron after the discovery of the Bessemer process. The market for coal increased, as it was needed for iron-smelting and steam power.

RAILWAYS AND STEAMSHIPS

While goods still had to be carried from one place to another by road, canals, and sailing ships, the slowness of the means of transport was a check on production, for it is useless to produce more goods than can be removed to their markets for sale The earliest railways built were short stretches of lines along which heavy goods could be drawn in wagons by horses These were used before the end of the eighteenth century, and, at the beginning of the nineteenth a steam locomotive was constructed by a Cornish engineer Soon afterwards George Stephenson began to experiment in the construction of engines In 1825 railways as we know them began with the building of a line between Stockton and Darlington, on which locomotive engines were used and passengers carried In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway was opened, and Stephenson's "Rocket," by showing that a train could be drawn at a speed of thirty-six miles an hour, proved that the railway promised a rapidity of transport that had never been known before

At first the new invention had been regarded with the suspicion and dislike which new things are apt to arouse But, once its worth had been firmly established, the expansion of the railway system over the country was rapid In the forties there was a great boom in railway stock, and a disastrous period of speculation, during which company promoters fleeced investors so badly that there was a financial crisis, and a temporary check to railway construction.

Steamships appeared before railways and were used on both American and English rivers in the earlier years of the nineteenth century In 1819 an American-built ship, the "Savannah" crossed the Atlantic, partly under steam In 1827 the

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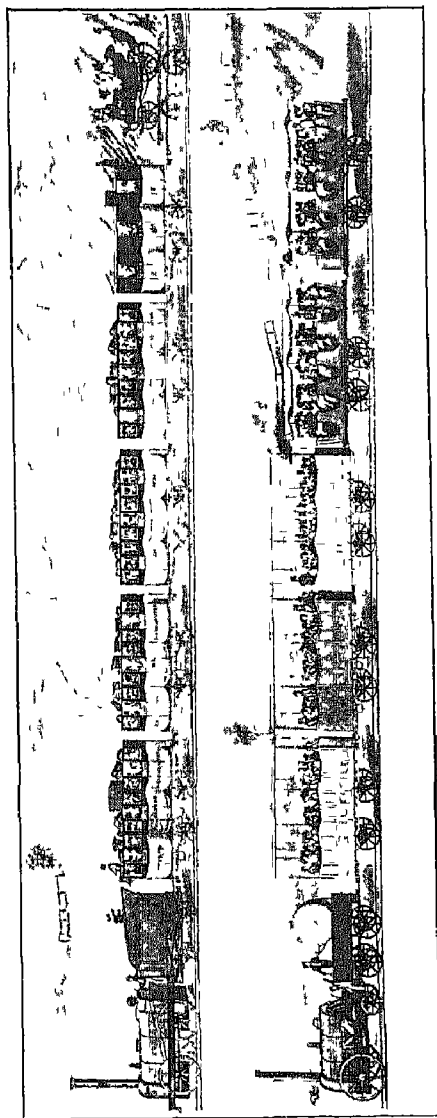
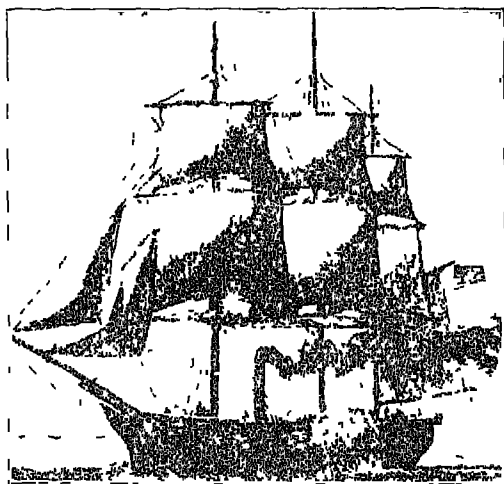

TRAVELLING ON THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY

"Curacoa," built in Dover, crossed entirely under steam from Rotterdam to the West Indies At the same time iron ships were beginning to be built, and in 1843 paddle wheels were replaced by screws In 1845 the Cunard Company had begun a regular service across the Atlantic But it was not till the seventies that steamships began to be built with a high tonnage, and in considerable numbers, and to replace sailing vessels

THE "SAVANNAH," THE FIRST STEAM SHIP TO CROSS THE ATLANTIC (1819)

Owing to shortage of fuel part of the "Savannah's" voyage was accomplished under sails The first ship to cross the Atlantic entirely under steam was the "Royal William" in 1833

Scientific discoveries and inventions appeared rapidly in the later years of the century In 1876 the telephone was invented The dynamo, the turbine, and the internal combustion engine were invented, and the first motor car was constructed (1887) Chemical research began to be applied to industry. Biological research revolutionised the treatment of diseases. The industrial revolution that brought machinery, steam power, factories, railways, and large towns, was followed by a scientific revolution

FREE TRADE AND FREE COMPETITION

In the nineteenth century things altered more rapidly than ever before The industrial changes meant that people had to grow used to new methods of work and new ways of life. The eighteenth century respect for the established order of things began to be replaced by beliefs in change and "progress," and a great impatience of anything that seemed to hamper the business of making money Most people were eager to accept any political or economic doctrine that seemed to remove restrictions Free trade, which in the eighteenth century had been advocated by Adam Smith and had had the support of statesmen like Pitt, in the nineteenth century became triumphant, and with it the idea of free competition at home

The national philosophy of the middle part of the century was that of Jeremy Bentham, who taught that every man knew what was best for himself and ought to be left as free as possible to obtain it The rising manufacturers were felt to be at once making their own fortunes and increasing the prosperity of the country It was thought that national interests were best served by leaving them free to do so Government regulation or interference was denounced, and it was argued that the work of governments was only to keep the peace and order which trade needed for its development. Bentham also taught that all institutions should be judged by their usefulness, and that what was bad or inefficient should be swept away without respect for its antiquity or dignity This teaching helped to inspire many nineteenth century reforms of national and local government

The nineteenth century belief that the state should not interfere with the private business of the individual was based on a sturdy respect for liberty and a genuine belief that free competition was good for the nation as a whole But it neglected the fact that a great part of the population lacked the power to secure fair treatment for themselves, and could be mercilessly exploited if they had no state protection It caused opposition to the Factory Acts, to efforts to enforce decent and safe conditions of work, and to combinations of workmen to secure fair wages All these things were denounced as interference with free bargaining between master and man

But in the second half of the century John Stuart Mill, while still upholding individualism, drew a distinction between

interference with a man's private affairs, and interference with his affairs when they concerned other people The opposition to state intervention was weakened, and Parliament was already making provision for the regulation of public health, sanitation, and conditions of work

This changed attitude arose partly because industrial conditions were growing so complicated that it was no longer easy for a man to thrive by his own efforts alone As people learnt to combine, belief in individualism became weaker Companies began to take the place of private businesses Instead of believing in free competition business firms began to make agreements with each other for the regulation of prices and to secure joint control of raw material

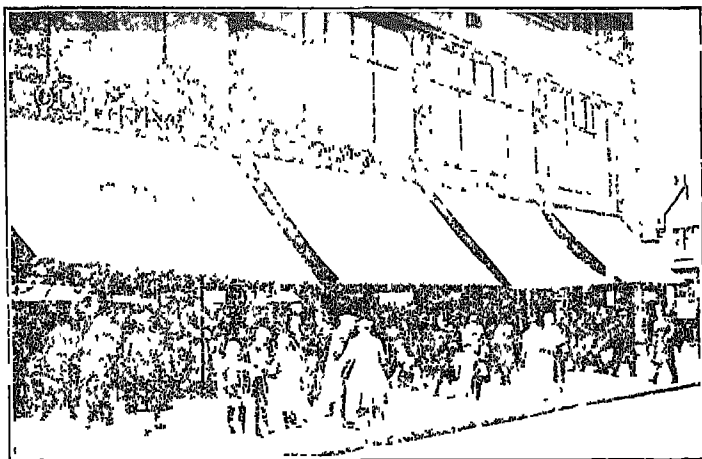
CO-OPERATIVE AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS

At the same time the workers were learning to combine, and the co-operative and trade unionist movements developed The first co-operative society was the "Pioneer Society," established at Rochdale in 1844 The movement grew rapidly, and by 1864 there were so many local co-operative stores that a "Co-operative Wholesale Society" was formed By 1903 the membership of the British Co-operative Societies was two millions Co-operation is an effort of the people who buy and use goods to combine to manufacture and sell what they require, profits being returned to the consumer in the form of dividends

The earlier efforts to form trade unions failed, not only because of the laws against such combinations, but because they were too wide and visionary in their conceptions, and not sufficiently practical But in 1851 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers set the example of a well-organised union formed for the benefit of a single trade It had definite objects, financial benefits for its members, and a system of organised contributions which made it able to command a good deal of money Unions on this model were formed in other trades, while the whole movement fell under the control of a small council of leaders in London, who gave it a common policy

As the unions gained ground they aroused a great deal of hostility The idea that such organisations were necessarily revolutionary and dangerous was not dead People were not quick to distinguish between the new, well-organised, moderate

unions, and the small, badly-organised and violent ones that still existed Moreover it was doubtful whether such organisations were permitted by law In 1867 the High Court decided that trade unions were illegal bodies, with no power to prosecute dishonest officials who appropriated their funds

The first Trade Union Congress was held to agitate for an improvement of the position In 1871 Gladstone's government made the unions legal, but at the same time restricted their action in trade disputes till they were unable to bring any pressure to bear on employers But since the Reform Act of 1867 had given

"Topical Press Agency

EXTERIOR OF A MODERN CO-OPERATIVE STORES

votes to the skilled workers in towns, union members had a good deal of political influence In 1875 Disraeli legalised peaceful picketing that is peaceable attempts to stop workers from going to work during a strike

The position of the unions was now established and as the century advanced they learnt to rely less upon strikes, which did not always prove successful, and more upon negotiation They also began to concern themselves less exclusively with the interests of their own trade, and to pay more attention to the whole situation of the working class and to the organisation of the unskilled labourer

During the eighties and nineties socialism was taking root in England. The Fabian Society (1883) advocated a gradual movement towards the state ownership of mines, railways, banks, and the means of production This movement at first attracted middle-class intellectuals rather than workers The unions were at first content to attempt improvement of the conditions of their members without adopting a political programme for the re-organisation of the state At first their representatives in Parliament were in close alliance with the Liberal party, and it was not till the end of the century that the Labour party appeared

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

The nineteenth century gave England a system of elementary schools, and so secured that everyone should receive some measure of education In the sixties higher education received attention. The old grammar schools, which had provided the secondary education of the country, were reformed and made efficient The universities widened the scope of their teaching and revised their examination system. The foundation of the modern universities was begun by the grant of a charter to the University of London in 1835

The re-organisation of education was one of the many signs that people were no longer content to leave old institutions in the decay into which many of them had fallen There was, of course, a great deal of opposition to the changes of the century, and especially to the new, and to many people shocking, ideas that it produced It was a time when science advanced rapidly and became less and less the domain of theorists, and more and more applied to the things of everyday life. Chemistry, geology, and biology were all progressing, and scientific theory began to challenge established ways of thought, and to come in conflict with the religious beliefs of many people

Scientists argued that the earth developed slowly through long ages, and that plants, animals, and men, as we know them now, were the result of a long period of gradual evolution, not of a single act of creation This theory of evolution horrified many religious people It seemed to challenge their beliefs, especially as it was at first held that the process of natural development had been guided by the effects of circumstances, the " survival

ROBERT OWEN'S PLAN FOR A LABOUR EXCHANGE CARTOON OF 1830

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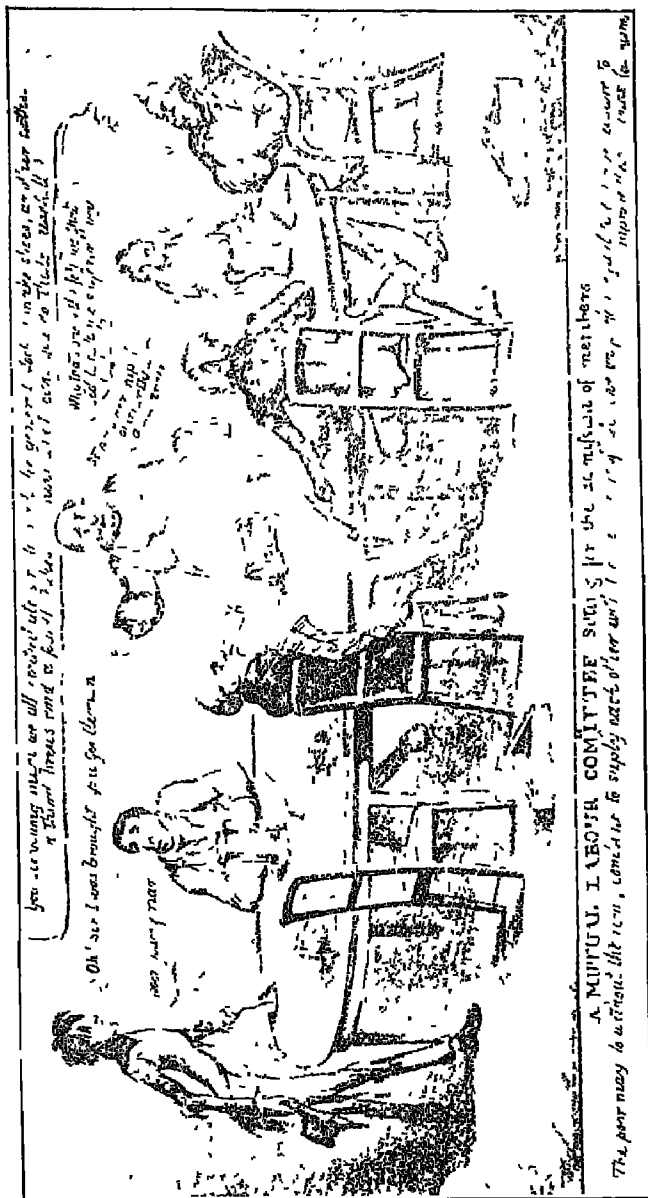
of the fittest," and not according to any fixed plan that suggested the intervention of a higher power

Devout people were greatly troubled, many of them underwent long personal struggles in the effort to reconcile their religious beliefs and the new ideas. Others denounced the scientists as atheists There were quarrels between friends and in families, and a period of hostility between science and religion. This lasted to the end of the century, when the scientists were acquiring a less mechanical view of the universe, and most religious bodies began to be less opposed to the idea of evolution

RELIGION

The nineteenth century was very interested in religious questions The eighteenth century had been philosophical and indifferent, but the rise of Methodism and Evangelicanism had revived religious enthusiasm With it quarrels between religious sects began again Both the religious and the philosophers combined to teach a more humane attitude towards the sufferings of other people This helped to procure such reforms as the abolition of slavery, and the interest of philanthropists in bettering working class conditions by the earlier Factory Acts

It was the revival of interest in religion that made the quarrels between religion and science so bitter It also produced divisions in the Church of England, a great hostility to Roman Catholics, and a vigorous growth of the Nonconformist bodies It is difficult now to understand the hostility of both eighteenth and nineteenth century England to the Roman Catholics A firm stand was made before they were permitted to vote, to sit in Parliament, to enter the Universities, and to share in the ordinary rights of citizens Great excitement was aroused when the Pope appointed Roman Catholic bishops for England in the middle of the nineteenth century

In spite of strong religious feeling and prejudice, nineteenth century individualism and love of liberty were opposed to attempts to interfere with people's religious beliefs. The century saw the removal of religious disabilities, and the adoption of the principle that people ought to be free to believe what they chose. The same individualism favoured the growth of the Nonconformist churches, though the tendency to quarrel over points of belief, organisation, and custom helped to split them into many bodies

The Church showed a similar tendency to quarrel over dogmas and shades of opinion The century produced the Oxford Movement and the Anglo-Catholics, who disliked Protestantism without wishing to unite the English and Roman Churches They argued that Elizabeth's Thirty-nine Articles really re-affirmed doctrines of the early Church, of which the Church of England was the true representative in belief and ritual

The Oxford Movement was regarded with suspicion by the other Protestant sects, who saw in it a step towards Roman Catholicism But it became associated with the old High Church party, and the Anglo-Catholics remain an important body in the Church of England They were vigorously opposed by the Low Churchmen, or Evangelicals, who based their belief on the Bible, rather than on the traditional teaching of the Church In their attachment to the version of creation given in the Book of Genesis, the Evangelicals became the most bitter opponents of the scientific views on evolution. But as it came to be seen that the advance of science did not necessarily mean the destruction of religion, the Broad Churchmen, or Modernists arose, who were willing to revise some of the old beliefs in accordance with new discoveries

The nineteenth century lacked the polish and clearness of mind of the eighteenth, but, in spite of the evils and suffering that accompanied rapid industrial development it was less brutal and indifferent It was the age of the decline of the aristocracy, and the predominance of a wealthy, middle class which admired success, diligence, and respectability The world was changing so quickly, and the changes were so unlike anything known before that it was inevitable that there should be a great deal of misery and distress and much that can be criticised But, in criticising, it is easy to overlook the tremendous energy and adaptability that was displayed

CHAPTER LIV

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS TO 1914

PARTY GOVERNMENT AFTER GLADSTONE

The period of Gladstone and Disraeli had shown English party government at its best. Disraeli had rescued the Conservatives from the plight in which they had been left by the split that followed the repeal of the Corn Laws He had taught them to abandon Protection and to accept free trade as the policy desired by the country He had persuaded them to adopt his policy of Tory democracy, and to appeal to the new working class electorate by measures for sanitation and housing, which the Liberals could not undertake because of their opposition to state interference He had also given his party a new policy of imperialism that appealed to commercial interests. By these means he left it no longer the party of the landowners alone, but with a definite appeal to working class and financial interests.

While Disraeli was adapting Conservatism to fit new conditions, Gladstone was completing the transformation of the Liberal party, begun by Cobden and Bright, from the aristocratic Whiggery of the champions of the first Reform Bill to the creed of " peace, retrenchment, and reform " that appealed to the manufacturers and the working class His party retained the popularity which it had had since the fall of Peel, but Disraeli had brought the Conservatives into favour with the country again, so neither Liberal nor Conservative stayed in power for an immoderate length of time. Both had an active policy, and each was an energetic critic of the other Under the stimulus of their rivalry important measures were passed. But in 1886 Gladstone's Home Rule Bill split the Liberal party. Its opponents, Chamberlain and the Whig section of the Liberals led by Lord Hartington, joined the Conservatives to form a Unionist party in opposition to the Home Rulers The result was a long period of Conservative government, followed by years of Liberal rule, which lasted till the adoption of Coalition government during the War

CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT OF LORD SALISBURY

Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded Disraeli in the leadership of the Conservative party, came into office for the second time on the fall of Gladstone in 1886 Except for three years of Liberal government (1892-1895), the Conservatives remained in power until 1905, first under the premiership of Lord Salisbury (1886-1892 and 1895-1902) and then, after his death under that of his nephew, Balfour (1902-1905) Lord Salisbury was more interested in foreign than home affairs He was a cautious, though able statesman, with a keen brain, a strong sense of humour, and a certain detachment of outlook that kept him aloof from popular enthusiasms He was mistrustful of democratic and reforming eagerness He believed that modern conditions were too complicated to be lightly interfered with, and was inclined to see wisdom in a policy of leaving things alone. Nevertheless his ministry revolutionised local government by the County Councils Act (1888), which took local government out of the hands of the justices of the peace, and handed it over to elective councils in the Counties and County Boroughs In 1894 Urban and Rural District Councils were created The functions of these councils rapidly increased, and they took control of lighting, sanitation, and a great many other services in their areas

The Liberal interval in this period of Conservative rule was occupied by the last ministry of Gladstone (1892-1894), whose efforts to persuade the country to grant Home Rule to Ireland might have succeeded except for the Parnell Divorce scandal (1890), and the split in the Irish party which followed it After the defeat of the Home Rule Bill (1894), Gladstone retired, and after the short ministry of Lord Rosebery (1894-5), the Liberal party, harassed by the quarrels of its leaders, Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, and Lord Morley, none of whom was satisfied to accept the other's predominance, was once more out of office

BALFOUR AND EDUCATION

Lord Salisbury's last ministry (1895-1902), at the end of which occurred the death of Queen Victoria, was too completely occupied by South African problems (the Jameson raid, and the Boer War) to have much time to spare for home affairs But when the war was ended, an exciting period in home politics

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FUNERAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA MOURNERS ARRIVING AT PADDINGTON

began. On Lord Salisbury's death, Balfour had become Prime Minister (1902-1905), and he had to manage a party which contained both rigid Conservatives, and Liberal Unionists like Joseph Chamberlain.

Chamberlain had left the Liberal party over the question of Home Rule. He had been an advanced Radical, his energy, so far occupied by his imperialist policy as Colonial Secretary, was now free to spend itself in agitating once more for changes at home. Balfour himself was an aristocrat, and philosopher, and a man of wide culture. He was too broad-minded not to be open to new ideas, and was quite energetic enough to adopt a firm policy and put it into practice, as he had shown when Secretary for Ireland. But he had much of the rather cynical detachment of his uncle, Lord Salisbury, and was not inclined to commit himself too deeply to any cause. He was a brilliant debater and party manager, but his subtlety and lack of enthusiasm were inclined to puzzle the public, who preferred more downright politicians. The combination of Balfour and Chamberlain had startling effects on the history of the Conservative party.

In 1902 the Balfour government aroused the opposition of Nonconformists by passing an Education Act which they thought unduly favourable to the Church. County and Borough Councils now existing for local government, the School Boards established by the Education Act of 1870 seemed no longer necessary. They were abolished and replaced by Education Committees of the County and Borough Councils. These authorities were to provide for the maintenance of the elementary schools, and among others for the "Church," or "National" Schools provided by the Church of England. Nonconformists raised an outcry against paying rates for the maintenance of schools which belonged to another religious denomination. Many adopted a policy of passive resistance, and let their goods be sold up rather than pay the rates. The Act also empowered the Education Committees to provide secondary as well as elementary education.

CHAMBERLAIN AND TARIFF REFORM

Before long another, and more important controversy arose. British industries were suffering from the effects of foreign competition, and Chamberlain boldly proposed the abandonment of

free trade and the adoption of protective tariffs. The effect of this was startling. Free trade had triumphed in England when Cobden and Bright secured the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846), and since that time its wisdom had not been seriously challenged. The British held it to be one of the chief causes of their prosperity, and had confidently expected that other nations would see its advantages and adopt it too.

But foreigners argued that British commercial supremacy in the nineteenth century was due not to free trade, but to lack of effective competition: that she had had the advantage of being the first nation to become industrialised. They did not intend to remain dependent on Britain for manufactured goods, while she used them as sources of food and raw material. They wanted to build up industries of their own, and used tariffs to protect them from destructive competition, while they were still developing. At the beginning of the twentieth century the cotton, iron, and steel industries were already suffering from foreign competition. Chamberlain argued that free trade was out-of-date, that the growing industrialisation of the world made a new policy necessary, and that British industries ought to be protected. His vigorous imperialism also made him welcome tariffs as a means of giving preference to colonial trade, and so binding the empire together.

Chamberlain was accustomed to taking a line of his own without much respect for the prejudices of his colleagues. As a Liberal, he had startled the moderates by the extreme radicalism of the measures which he demanded. As a Unionist Colonial Secretary he had adopted a policy of vigorous imperialism in Africa, which had aroused much opposition at home. He now put forward his policies of Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference without regard for the fact that many of his fellow-ministers were convinced Free Traders.

The result of the new campaign was to split the Unionist party, and to bring the Liberals back to power until the Great War. This result was postponed for almost two years by the ingenuity of Balfour. Free-trading ministers resigned in protest against Mr Chamberlain's policy, and Mr Chamberlain himself resigned in order to be free to conduct an independent crusade throughout the country (1903), but Balfour remained in office. He refused to declare for or against tariff reform, and used ingenious political tactics to keep his party in power.

Chamberlain's energy and organising ability obtained a good deal of public support for his policy. But his campaign failed because imperial preference would have involved taxes on food, and so sent up the cost of living. His opponents made good use of the big, and little loaf in their propaganda. The Unionist party was split into Free Traders and Protectionists, and Balfour's position finally became so impossible that he resigned (1905). The Liberals came into power under the premiership of Campbell-Bannerman, and the Conservative party, torn by its own disagreements, remained out of office for years. In 1906 a stroke made Mr Chamberlain unable to take part in public affairs, and in 1911 Balfour was succeeded as leader of the Conservatives by Bonar Law.

CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN'S LIBERAL MINISTRY

The Liberal ministries of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1905-1908) and of Asquith (1908-1915) had large majorities. Not only were the Conservatives split over the Tariff Reform question, but the Irish were again pressing their demand for Home Rule, and the Nonconformists had been aroused by the Education Act of 1902. All these factors helped to bring in a period of Liberal government, for the Liberals were uncompromising Free Traders, they retained the Gladstone tradition of a Home Rule policy, and Liberalism and Nonconformity had always tended to go together. Moreover the removal of Chamberlain from politics (1906) lost the Conservatives their most progressive leader. Balfour was not sufficiently downright for the British public, which is inclined to mistrust too much cleverness. They were tired of the ingenuity and subtlety with which he steered a course between the Tariff Reformers and Free Traders of his party, and wanted him to declare openly for one side or the other. They contrasted his elusive tactics with the uncompromising honesty of the Liberal leader, Campbell-Bannerman.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had won the respect even of those who did not agree with him by the firmness with which he had expressed and stood by his opinions during the Boer War, and had earned the confidence of the country as a singularly honest man. While he was in office the ability which he displayed both in countering the brilliant attacks of Mr Balfour

on his policy, and in the settlement of the question of South African government, which was his greatest achievement, astonished his party The Liberals had been inclined to underrate his capacity, and had wished him, as Prime Minister, to retire to the House of Lords, and to leave the management of the Commons to Asquith, who became Prime Minister after Campbell-Bannerman's death (1908)

LIBERAL OPINIONS AND POLICY

Besides Asquith, the Liberal party had a number of talented men among its leaders Lord Morley, Sir Edward Grey, who was to become celebrated as Foreign Secretary, Haldane, who carried out an important work of re-organisation at the War Office, Mr Winston Churchill, and Mr. Lloyd George, who became famous as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Asquith ministry But in spite of its talents and its majority in the Commons, the Liberal ministry had to face many difficulties, not the least being differences in the opinions of its own members

Under the leadership of Gladstone the Liberals had been definitely a "peace party," but they also inherited the Palmerstonian tradition of an energetic foreign policy, and under the influence of the imperialism of the eighties and nineties many of them had become imperialists The Boer War had shown a definite Liberal "split" on colonial policy Liberal imperialists like Asquith and Grey supported the war, while Liberal pacifists like Campbell-Bannerman and Mr Lloyd George denounced it This difference in attitude to foreign affairs continued, and there was some trouble in reconciling those leaders who wanted a pacific policy and a reduction of armaments, and those who wanted to build more battleships in order to meet the growing menace of the German fleet

Ireland presented an even more difficult problem Attempts to satisfy the Irish Nationalists by a Home Rule Bill were met by the stubborn resistance of Ulster under Lord Carson and F E Smith, afterwards Lord Birkenhead It is interesting to remember that, when the Great War broke out, the attention of the English public was concentrated not on foreign affairs, but on the serious state of things that existed in Ireland, and the possibility of a civil war there

The Liberals had also to encounter the mistrust and alarm caused by the advanced views of some of their leaders.

Liberalism was changing its character. Throughout the nineteenth century one of the most cherished Liberal principles had been opposition to state interference. The legislation of the seventies for sanitation, housing, and factory regulations, had been the product of Disraeli's Tory democracy, and much criticised by his Liberal opponents. When, in his Radical days, Mr Chamberlain had advocated taxation of the rich to provide social services, and had demanded the abolition of the House of Lords the moderates of his own party had been shocked. But since then Radical doctrines had been gaining support among the Liberals, and the Liberal governments of the early twentieth century abandoned the principle of non-interference. It passed measures for the provision of various social services by the state, imposed taxes on the rich to provide money for these services, and, because of its opposition to their policy, undertook the "reform" of the House of Lords.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The origin of the struggle with the House of Lords lay in the conviction of the peers that the Liberal leaders were dangerous extremists. This led them to make a determined resistance to important Liberal measures. The Liberals became discontented with the existing situation. They argued that appeals to the country became useless if a Liberal majority in the Commons was to have its measures continually amended or rejected by a Conservative House of Lords. Probably things would have settled down again if the Lords had not gone beyond their constitutional rights by rejecting a Liberal budget. It was contrary to constitutional practice for the Lords to amend or reject money bills, since national finance was regarded as the business of the Commons.

This particular Budget (1909), brought forward by Lloyd George, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Asquith government, was disliked by the Lords because it embodied the principle of taxing the rich to provide social services. Competition with the Germans in fleet-building was making armament expenditure heavy, so, if the government were to carry out its plans for national insurance and other services, new taxes would be necessary. Lloyd George proposed to raise the necessary additional revenue by increased death duties, "super-tax" on

incomes of more than £5,000 a year, and by the taxation of increased land values This last meant that in areas where the value of land had risen because of the growth of towns, industrial developments, or other causes, the government proposed to take a fifth of this "unearned increment," when the land was sold or passed, by death, to a new owner

These proposals roused a great outcry, not so much because of the money involved, as because they raised the whole question of government taxation of wealth and interference with property rights The Conservative leaders encouraged the Lords to take the drastic step of rejecting the budget, and the Liberal leaders appealed to the country The electors showed no great interest in the question of the reform of the Lords, and as other issues were raised at the election and the Liberals obtained only a very small majority, the country could not be said to have given a decisive verdict Nevertheless the Liberals decided to proceed with their policy of reducing the power of the Lords, and the Parliament Act of 1911 was the result

This Act could scarcely have been passed if the new King, George V, who had come to the throne on the death of Edward VII (1910) had not promised that, if the Lords rejected it, he would create enough new peers to carry it through their House When they learnt this, the Lords gave way and accepted the Bill The new Act restored the old constitutional rule that the Lords were unable to reject a Money Bill It also reduced their power to reject other Public Bills, passed by the Commons, to a "suspensory veto," which delayed the passing of a measure for two years This reduced the House of Lords to a secondary place in the constitution, but the power of holding up legislation still proved to be of political importance The Act also reduced the maximum duration of a Parliament from seven to five years It made possible the passage of an Act for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, which had been twice rejected by the Lords (1914)

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Having abandoned the principle of non-interference by the state the Liberals produced some important social legislation, closely connected with the name of Lloyd George Old Age Pensions were granted (1908), a pensions of 5/- a week being allowed to persons over seventy Elementary schools were to

be medically inspected, and education authorities were empowered to provide meals for poor children Acts for housing and town-planning, and for the provision of allotments were a step forward in policies that had been championed both by Disraeli and by Joseph Chamberlain, and that have been carried further since the war The working hours of miners were restricted to eight hours a day, and Trade Boards were established to settle wages in underpaid industries Workmen were given the right to compensation for injuries sustained during their work In 1911 the National Health Insurance Act provided compulsory insurance of workers against sickness.

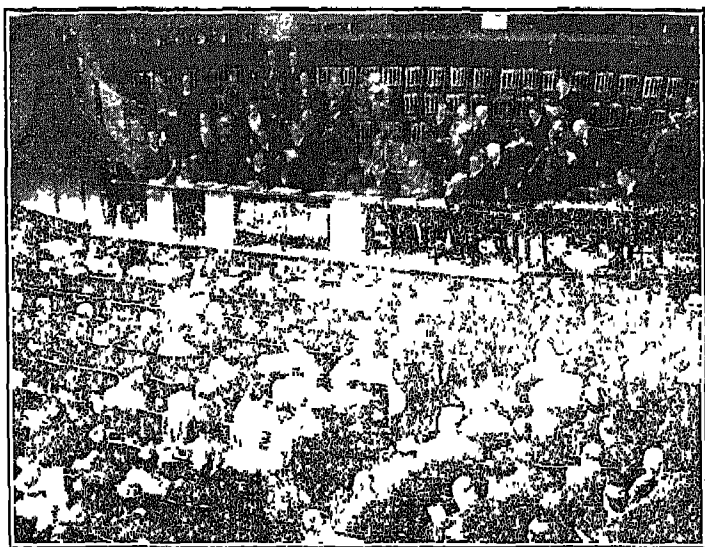
It is difficult to realise how these measures startled a nation unused to state interference with their individual concerns, and how deeply they were resented The resentment took many forms and had many causes A great deal was said about the irksome necessity of stamp-licking which the national health insurance imposed upon employers Where servants had received care during sickness from their employers, they grumbled at being turned over to the care of the state Pensions were rejected by some old people as a form of pauperisation There was a great outcry about taxation and extravagance. Then all these protests were temporarily overwhelmed by national preoccupation with the war, and when peace came, people were already used to the new measures, and much more sweeping ones were passed So, in the excitement and stress of the war, the individualism of the nineteenth century was swamped, and "paternal legislation" by the state became accepted as a part of the natural order of things

TRADE UNIONISM AND THE LABOUR PARTY

The period before the war was one of strikes and of industrial discontent. The social legislation that was being passed had not been in existence long enough for its effects to be felt. Trade unionism had received a check at the beginning of the century, and once more felt that it was fighting to maintain its position In Parliament the Labour party was not yet strong enough to offer its supporters the hope of getting what they wanted by new legislation instead of by strikes and direct action

In 1901, in the Taff Vale Case, Trade Unions had been adjudged liable to pay damages for acts committed by their

members during a strike This made it possible that a union, in a strike, might have its funds drained away In 1906 this state of affairs was altered by the Trades Disputes Act which exempted unions from responsibility for the actions of individuals

In the nineteenth century the Labour members who represented trade unionism in Parliament were closely associated with the Liberals In 1906 a separate Labour party was formed, largely as a result of the Taff Vale judgment, which made the

SPECIAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS
CONFERENCE ON UNEMPLOYMENT AT THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER

unions feel the need of a political organisation which could state their case, and work for legislative changes which they desired The new party was mainly dependent on the unions for its funds, and in 1909 its future seemed threatened by the Osborne judgment, which declared it illegal to use trade union funds for political purposes Temporarily the Labour party was weakened, for Labour members were seldom men who could afford to sit in Parliament if they had no support beyond their own private means But the check roused the unions to greater

interest in political representation, and in 1910 forty Labour members were elected. In 1911 the payment of members made the situation easier, but it was not until 1913 that unions were authorised to collect a separate, voluntary levy from their members for political purposes.

Before the war, therefore, the unions had an organised political party, and people had already learnt that their representation in Parliament tended to draw the working-class movement to a programme of orderly political change, and to lessen industrial friction. But the Labour party was still small, and the idea of a Labour government had not yet come into practical politics.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

At the same time the Militant movement was making Women's Suffrage one of the prominent questions of the day. The latter part of the nineteenth century had seen the growth of a feminist movement, especially in education. Women obtained the same type of education as men, and began to enter masculine professions and to demand an equal degree of freedom. Their demand for votes had many sympathisers in both the Conservative and the Liberal party, but both parties were divided on the subject, and refused to make it a part of their political programme. Led by Mrs Pankhurst, the Militant Suffragettes determined to force politicians to attend to their wishes by a campaign of direct action. They interrupted public meetings, mobbed politicians, smashed shop windows, and when sent to gaol for these outbreaks, went on hunger-strike.

Actually their violence lost much support in Parliament for their movement, but it did advertise it widely, and greatly added to the number of women who demanded the vote. But the work done by women during the war had a greater share in convincing public opinion that their demand for the franchise was just, and it was not till after the war that it was granted. In 1918 votes were given to women over thirty, and in 1928 women were placed on the same footing as men, receiving the vote at the age of twenty-one.

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SUFFRAGETTE PROCESSION

CHAPTER LV

CAUSES AND COURSE OF THE GREAT WAR

GERMAN POLICY AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The principal cause of the Great War was the commercial and territorial competition of European powers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries The survival of certain grievances, especially in Alsace-Lorraine, was also important The development of rival systems of alliance resulted in competition in armaments All countries began to feel so unsafe that it became more and more difficult to settle international questions by peaceful negotiation In the end the powers plunged into war because the rival groups were each confident of victory

After the post-Napoleonic attempt to manage European affairs by international Congresses had failed, the European nations once more followed independent policies, and made temporary alliances But in 1870 when Bismarck took Alsace-Lorraine from France after the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), he felt that he must expect lasting French hostility, and must guard against French attempts to regain the lost provinces It then became the main object of his foreign policy to keep France isolated and friendless in Europe and Germany the centre of a system of permanent alliances By skilful diplomacy he built up the Triple Alliance (1882) of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and also managed to keep Russia in alliance with Germany

The rivalry of Austria and Russia in the Balkans made the game very difficult, for Russia felt that Germany favoured Austrian interests there After the fall of Bismarck no one else showed enough skill and cunning to maintain his system Russia broke away, and in 1896 made an alliance with France Thus the alliance system, which Bismarck had intended to maintain peace and German predominance, was transformed into two rival alliances based on Franco-German and Austro-Russian hostility The way was paved for competition in armaments and the development of an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion that finally led to war

While European nations were developing their hostile systems of alliance, they were also engaged in a vigorous struggle for colonies The seventies, eighties, and nineties were the period of the "scramble for Africa." It is interesting to remember that the French were, at this time, the chief colonial rivals of England, and there were occasions when an Anglo-French war seemed likely. It is also worth remembering that, in spite of much quarrelling, and of the rather aggressive attitude of the Germans, who were later in the field, the partition of Africa was settled by negotiation and agreement, and not by war

Germany was late in taking part in the scramble for colonies The pieces of Africa she had obtained in the eighties were by no means the most desirable In the latter part of the nineteenth century she had rapidly become industrialised and she wanted markets for her goods, and sources from which she could obtain raw material She also desired places to which her people could emigrate without becoming, as they did in America, the subjects of a foreign power. As the Kaiser expressed it, she wanted " a place in the sun," and when she attempted to secure one in Africa or Asia she was certain to come into conflict with the interests of the other powers, and particularly of Great Britain

ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL RIVALRY

Britain and Germany had a tradition of friendship behind them and were slow to become hostile to each other At the end of the nineteenth century when the British were beginning to feel their isolation and the possibility of attempts to seize some of their possessions, a German alliance seemed more probable than a French one An alliance was suggested by Chamberlain, but the sympathy of the German people with the Boers made it impossible After this, hostile feeling between the two countries grew rapidly The Germans felt that they were handicapped in their commercial and colonial rivalry with Britain, by British supremacy at sea, so they began to build a fleet to rival the British one A period of naval competition followed, during which the British public came to be familiar with the idea of a German invasion Lord Fisher, the re-organiser of the British navy transferred the main fleet from the Mediterranean to the North Sea (1904), and predicted an Anglo-German war

At the same time British statesmen were becoming alarmed at German policy in the Near East The Germans had planned a railway from Berlin to Bagdad, with an extension to the head of the Persian Gulf, and had obtained permission from the Sultan of Turkey to begin the building of it The British disliked the establishment of German influence in Turkey They saw with alarm a future in which Germany might replace Russia as their rival in Asia, and might even threaten the safety of India Under the stress of naval and eastern competition, feeling between England and Germany was steadily growing worse

THE ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE

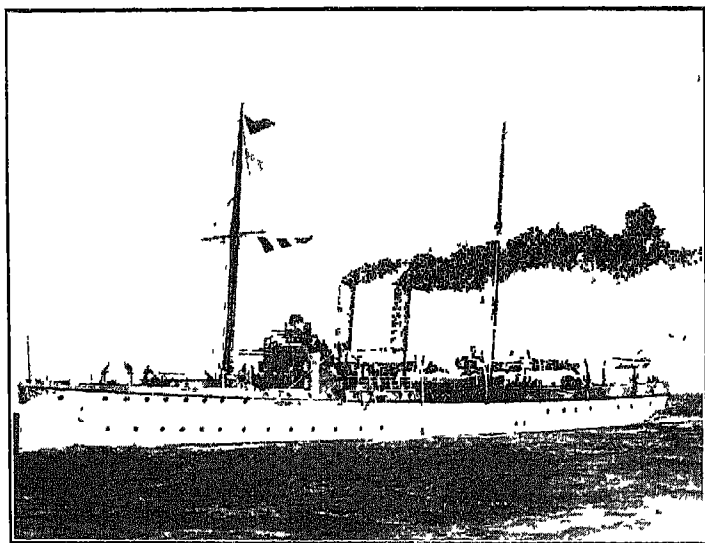
Meanwhile, relations with France were becoming easier In all parts of the globe France and England had been having colonial quarrels with each other, but the French withdrawal in the Fashoda crisis (1898) had left a favourable impression Also the quarrel between Russia and Japan made the French fear a German attack while their Russian ally was engaged in the Far East The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, was glad to seize an opportunity to end the constant colonial quarrels with France But, though Britain had already abandoned her traditional isolation by an Anglo-Japanese alliance, she was still unwilling to find herself tied to one of the two rival European alliances She would agree only to a loose "Entente," not an alliance

Britain continued to regard the agreement as mainly a colonial one by which France abandoned her opposition to British policy in Egypt in return for British support of French policy in Morocco. But the European powers took the alliance more seriously than this, and regarded it as a sign that Great Britain had at last thrown in her lot with one of the rival European combinations When Sir Edward Grey became Foreign Secretary the understanding with France grew closer In 1907 France's ally, Russia, was taken into what now became the "Triple Entente," after a settlement of her Asiatic differences with Britain

The English maintained, up to the beginning of the Great War, that they were not bound to go to war on behalf of their allies But conferences between French and British military chiefs showed the recognition of such a possibility Also the

competition in fleet-building with Germany both drew Britain into the European armaments race and pointed out Germany as her most probable enemy

MOROCCO, ALGECIRAS, AGADIR

With the European powers divided into rival alliances, the Triple Alliance, and the Triple Entente, each mightily armed and suspicious of the others intentions, everyone learnt to expect

Sport and General Press Agency

THE GERMAN WARSHIP " PANTHER," WELL-KNOWN THROUGH HER " PANTHER LEAP " TO AGADIR

war, and it became more and more difficult to settle international disputes peacefully. In 1899 and 1907 Peace Conferences met at the Hague, but they achieved little, while one crisis after another arose, and seemed to threaten development into a European war

The first centre of trouble was Morocco at the north-western corner of Africa, and one of the few pieces of Africa that had not been seized by a European power. France, Spain, Great Britain, and Germany, all had interests there, and France was eager to add the country to her North African Empire When

the Anglo-French Entente (1904) was arranged Great Britain promised to support France in Morocco, but the Germans intervened The German Kaiser's trick of suddenly taking an aggressive line of his own in foreign affairs complicated the policy of German ministers, and helped to cause friction between Germany and other nations The Kaiser visited Tangier, announced his intention of safeguarding German interests, and demanded a European congress on the subject of Morocco.

The Conference met at Algeciras (1906), and managed to effect a peaceful settlement, but a good deal of ill-feeling remained In 1911, the French sent an expedition to restore order at Fez, the capital of Morocco The Kaiser again challenged French claims, by sending a German gunboat, the "Panther," to Agadir, on the Moroccan coast War seemed near, but again the incident was dealt with peaceably France gave up some Congo territory to Germany in compensation for a settlement in Morocco

THE BALKAN WARS

Colonial rivalry, hostile alliances, competition in armaments, and the development of a universal atmosphere of suspicion were the underlying causes of the Great War, but the events which directly led up to it were the result of the situation in the Balkans Part of the Balkans remained under Turkish rule, and the rest was divided into small states, dissatisfied with their own boundaries, and ready to quarrel either with each other or with Turkey

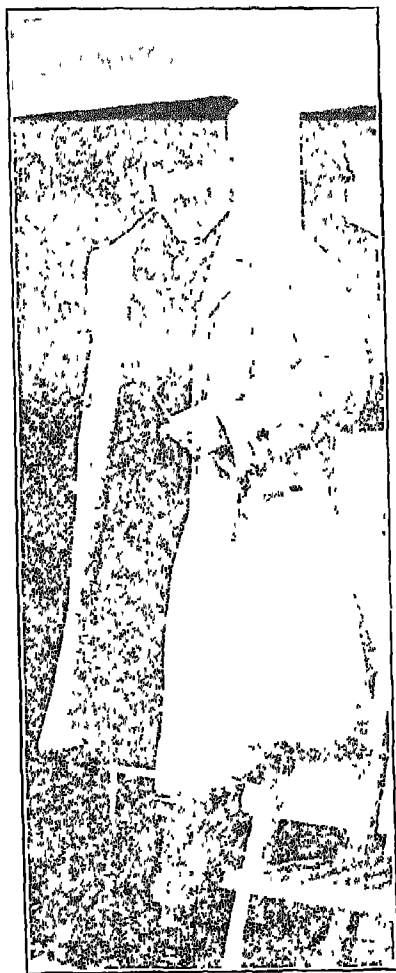
In the Balkans as in Africa, the interests of members of the two rival European alliances came into conflict Russia and Austria were jealous of each other's influence there England, now friendly with Russia, was hostile to the growth of German influence in Turkey, where her own had once been supreme In 1908 there was a revolution in Turkey, and the Sultan was deposed by the "Young Turk" party Austria took advantage of the disorder there, and of the fact that her rival, Russia, was still weak from the Russo-Japanese war, to annex the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) had permitted Austria to occupy these provinces, but they still nominally belonged to Turkey

This annexation not only irritated Russia, but produced a general impression that the Turkish empire was at last falling to pieces, and that every one must scramble for what he could get In 1911 the Italians went to war with the Turks, and seized Tripoli in North Africa The Greek Prime Minister, Venezelos, managed to unite Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro into a "Balkan League," and attacked Turkey in the First Balkan War (1912), which almost drove the Turks out of Europe When the Turks were defeated, the Balkan states began a war, the Second Balkan War (1913), with each other England, Germany, and Russia, worked together for a settlement, for the German policy of supporting Turkey was being upset. It seemed that peace had been secured, but Austria had her own reasons for discontent and her policy had a decisive effect on European history

THE AUSTRIAN ATTACK ON SERBIA

Austria was very nervous about the situation in the Balkans Her subjects included a large number of Slavs, and the Slav nationalist movement, which had its centre in the Balkan kingdom of Serbia, was directed against Austria as well as Turkey Austria began to feel that her own safety depended on crushing Serbia, and if to do so involved the interference of Serbia's supporter, Russia, and the development of a European war, the Austrian military chiefs did not really care They had become convinced that war was inevitable, and thought that it would be wiser to fight before the Russians were better prepared for it Thus the general expectation of war helped in the end to produce it

The Austrian pretext for attacking Serbia was the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, at Serajevo, during a visit to Serbia in June, 1914 The Austrians accused the Serbian government of being implicated in the murder They sent an ultimatum to Serbia, the terms of which were so severe that the Serbians were obviously not intended to accept them German policy was undecided Like the Austrians the German military leaders were pressing for war, and at first Germany made no effort to check her ally But, when, under Russian influence, the Serbs tried to keep the peace by agreeing to the whole of the Austrian terms, the Germans tried to persuade Austria to accept this settlement, only to

find that she had already declared war on Serbia After this affairs were decided by the desire of the military leaders in the different countries to obtain the advantage by rapid action The Russians began to mobilise, the Germans imitated them, and the Germans were followed by the French Mobilisations led to

Sport and General

THE ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND OF AUSTRIA.

ultimatums, and in spite of the efforts of Sir Edward Grey to induce the powers to negotiate, Europe was soon at war.

The English had at first regarded the Serajevo affair as another of the already familiar Balkan squabbles, in which they had little interest The outbreak of a European war placed English statesmen in a dubious position They were practically pledged to support France, but no definite promise had been given, and they could not make war without the consent of Parliament It seemed for a while possible that England might remain outside the war

But England had pledged herself in 1837 to maintain Belgian neutrality, and though Belgium had come to understandings that were, to say the least of them, contrary to the spirit of neutrality, it was still possible for Britian to make a *casus belli* out of open violation of the neutrality agreement of 1837. It was her traditional policy to prevent any great power from obtaining control of the Belgian ports In the end an ultimatum was sent to Germany, demanding that Belgian neutrality should be respected The German invasion of Belgium was the immediate reason for the entry of Great Britain into the war

THE FAILURE OF THE GERMAN WAR PLAN

When the Great War began, military experts, especially in Germany, expected it to be a short affair The world had never before seen an army that was, at once, so large, so well-trained, and so well-equipped and organised as the German one The Germans had a definite plan for using this overwhelming military machine to deal with the Triple Entente powers in turn This plan depended upon rapid action, and made them hasten to attack France as soon as possible after the Austro-Serbian quarrel had led to a Russian mobilisation, and a war in Central Europe

Russian organisation was known to be bad, and the Germans hoped to defeat France while the Russian armies were gathering in the field She could then deal with Russia at leisure If England, who was a naval, not a military power, chose to support her allies, she would probably find the war at an end before she could help them effectively. Germany could also afford to neglect the fact that Italy was not a very enthusiastic member of the Triple Alliance, since it was the support of Austria that was principally necessary in dealing with Russia

The programme of the Germans was, therefore, to use most of their forces to defeat France in a rapid, well-planned campaign, and so to be free to deal with the Russian armies when they appeared If Germany had succeeded in this, the war would soon have been over Her failure was due to two things · the unexpected energy shown by the Russians, and the miscarriage of the German plan for the defeat of France

Unfortunately for the Germans, the Russians mobilised much more quickly than had been expected, and the energetic Russian

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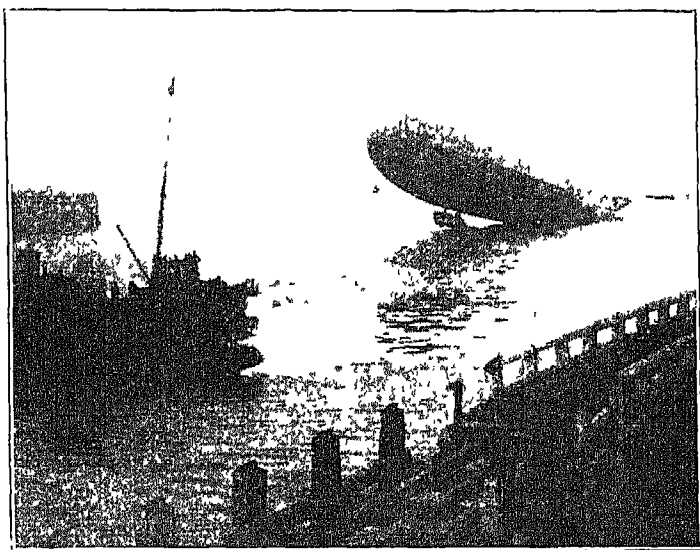

ZEPPELIN DOWN AT SEA

commander, the Grand-Duke Nicholas, sent two armies to invade East Prussia. The Germans, commanded by Hindenburg and Ludendorff, defeated the Russians at Tannenburg, one of the decisive battles of the war, and in the Battle of the Masurian Lakes But they had had to recall two Army Corps from France for the defence of East Prussia, just when it was essential to their plans to concentrate upon the defeat of the French The Russians then began a successful advance into Gallicia (Austria-Hungary), which Hindenburg checked by a counter-campaign against

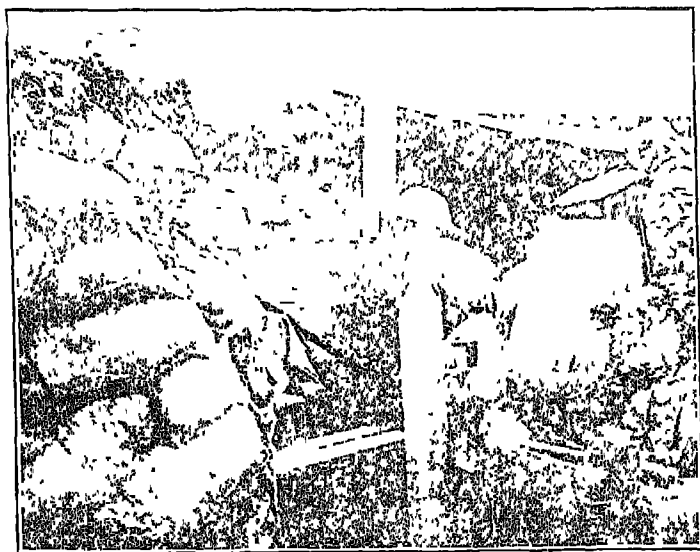
Russian Poland. By the end of the year (1914), the Russians had been forced upon the defensive, and the Russian and German armies faced each other on a front that stretched from East Prussia to the Carpathians. Though the Russian advance failed, it probably saved the French from defeat by withdrawing troops from the western front, where the same conditions of deadlock prevailed by the end of 1914.

In their attack on France the Germans intended to avoid the heavily fortified Franco-German frontier by invading France through Belgium. They hoped then to defeat the French rapidly by an advance upon Paris, followed by a westward sweep of the German armies through the country, encircling the French and driving them back towards the frontier. They hoped in this way to defeat France before Russia or England could interfere, and they came very near to success. But unexpected factors appeared. British and Russians acted more rapidly than had been expected, and Belgium resisted the German invasion. German commanders were out of touch with each other, and did not keep to the programme laid down for them. Perhaps the most decisive factor of all was the withdrawal of the two German Army Corps to fight the Russians in East Prussia.

The Belgian resistance, beginning with the defence of Liége, delayed the Germans long enough for the six divisions of the British Expeditionary Force to be sent across the Channel. British and French had to retreat before the German advance, and Paris was threatened, but the Germans, part of whose troops had been withdrawn to fight the Russians, had to abandon their campaign and alter their line of march. The Allied troops, under French and Joffre, risked an advance, and in the engagements known as the "Battle of the Marne" drove the Germans back from the Marne to the Aisne.

This battle completed the failure of the German plan of invasion. It was followed by a race between the two armies to reach the coast, in the attempt to outflank each other, and by a German attempt to break through the British lines in the First Battle of Ypres. At the end of the year (1914), no decision had been reached. The hostile armies had entrenched themselves in a long line which stretched from the Belgian coast to Switzerland. The German plan for obtaining a rapid victory had failed, and the war became a long struggle in which each side tried to wear down the other's resources.

1915 TRENCH WARFARE THE DARDANELLES

After 1914 everyone realised that the struggle was to be a long one. The opposing armies had dug their lines of trenches opposite each other, and there was no longer any opportunity for the rapid movement of troops that had decided other wars. The struggle resembled a vast siege, and heavy artillery, machine guns and barbed wire made it impossible to secure even a few yards of ground without tremendous loss of life It was obvious that

Imperial War Museum

LANCASHIRE FUSILIER SENTRY IN A TRENCH, LOOKING THROUGH A BOX PERISCOPE OPPOSITE MESSINES, NEAR PLOEGSTEERT WOOD JANUARY 1917

all the resources of the nations concerned would be needed for victory Great Britain, who had received the whole-hearted support of India and the colonies, set about building up a great army at a speed never equalled before, and trying to organise a supply of munitions that would meet the enormous demand for them It was the influence of Lord Kitchener that helped to procure the army for her, while that of Mr Lloyd George procured the munitions Since the seriousness of the struggle seemed to call

for the help of all parties a Coalition government was formed with Asquith as Prime Minister (1915).

Throughout 1915 the struggle on the Western Front remained indecisive, in spite of British attacks at Neuve Chappelle and Loos, and French ones in Champagne and Artois In April the Germans introduced poison gas in the Second Battle of Ypres, and a new horror was added to warfare In the east things went badly for the Allies At the end of 1914 Turkey had joined the Central powers, so in 1915 a combined military and naval attack was made upon her by British, Australian, and New Zealand forces Their aim was to land on the Gallipoli peninsular, force the Dardanelles, and so at once secure communications with Russia and deal a crushing blow to the enemy cause

But the Dardanelles expedition failed, in spite of gallant fighting and much loss of life, and the Allies only obtained a footing in Salonica, which they kept till the end of the war Meanwhile, the Russian armies were being driven out of Poland altogether, and the Serbs were defeated by a combination of Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians The one bright event for the Allies was that Italy joined them and declared war upon Austria.

1916· THE TANKS JUTLAND

By 1916 the Germans had decided that the British were their most dangerous enemies, because it was British wealth and resources that enabled the Allies to prolong the struggle But the French remained their most important military opponents, and they spent the early part of 1916 in trying to exhaust the French army by repeated attacks on the French lines at Verdun The offensive involved heavy losses, both French and German, but it failed to exhaust the French

Later in the year the French and British retaliated by an offensive on the Somme, in which a new military weapon, the tank, was employed The British, who had adopted conscription at the beginning of the year, had now built up an army as large and effective as that of a continental power So on the western front, after another year of fighting and tremendous losses, no decision was reached Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who had been so successful on the eastern front, were now summoned to take command in the west

On the eastern front in 1916, Russia, whom the Germans

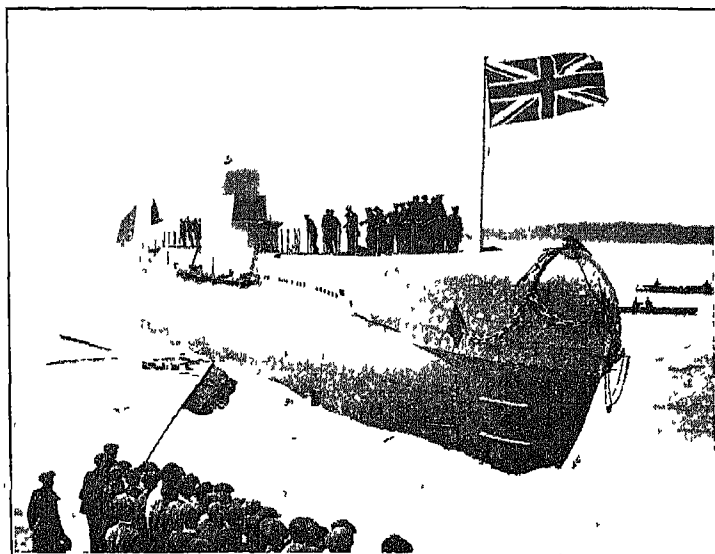
thought too ill-equipped and disorganised for anything but defence, upset their calculations by a great offensive This threatened the overthrow of Austria-Hungary, which was also defeated by the Italians in the Isonzo area These successes of the Allies encouraged Roumania to enter the war on their side So the Germans had to come to the rescue of Austria They drove back the Russians and carried out a brilliant campaign against the Roumanians, half of whose country, with its valuable supplies of corn and oil was left in the hands of the enemy

THE GREAT WAR, 1914-18
A Tank crossing a trench Battle of Cambrai, March 1917

At sea a battle was fought off Jutland Early in the war German commerce had been driven off the sea, and the British navy had been used to seize German colonies But there had been no important naval action The German fleet remained shut in the Kiel Canal and the main object of the commanders of the British navy was to preserve from destruction their great battleships the existence of which was enough to give Britain command of the sea, and the loss of which would have meant defeat in the whole war In the Battle of Jutland (May 1916) both British and Germans claimed a victory, but the fact that

the German fleet once more retired into the Kiel Canal, while the British retained command of the sea seems to show on which side the advantage actually lay

1917 THE SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN AMERICA

The Germans were now becoming afraid that they would be defeated by superior British resources In 1917 they attempted no great offensive on the western front, but determined to

"Topical" Press Agency Ltd

SUBMARINE "PERSEUS"

try to destroy British shipping by an unrestricted submarine campaign This was almost certain to lead to war with America The United States had already been made hostile to Germany by the attacks of submarines upon neutral as well as Allied shipping, and especially by the sinking of the "Lusitania" (1915) But the Germans hoped to starve the British into surrender before the Americans had had time to organise their army and put it into the field

German trust in the decisive effect of their submarines proved to be misplaced The British had to ration food, but

they were still much better supplied than the Central powers British shipping suffered badly, but the submarine campaign was met by effective resistance Like the German air raids on British towns, it failed to paralyse the British armies by creating disorder and confusion at home It also brought the United States into the war in the spring of 1917

On the western front in 1917 the Germans not only attempted no offensive but fell back upon new trenches, the

L N 1

THE MEAT RATION CARD USED BY THE KING AND QUEEN DURING THE WAR

"Hindenburg Line," and left the offensive of the Allies to waste itself in crossing mined and deserted ground The failure of the Allied offensive led to mutinies in the French army, which were suppressed by General Pétain Meanwhile the British commander, Haig, impressed by the necessity of keeping the Germans occupied until the French recovered themselves, launched a series of attacks, known as the Paschendale offensive This lasted from July to November, and the greater part of the British army was sacrificed.

On the eastern front the main course of events was disastrous. In Russia a revolution had broken out, and was followed by the demoralisation of the army, and finally, when the Bolshevist regime was established, by a separate peace (1918). The collapse of the Russians enabled Germany to send reinforcements to the Italian front, and the Italians were defeated at Caporetto. Further afield the Allies were successful, for Mesopotamia was conquered from the Turks, and Allenby invaded Palestine, occupying Jerusalem at the end of the year, after a brilliant campaign.

1918. THE VICTORY OF THE ALLIES

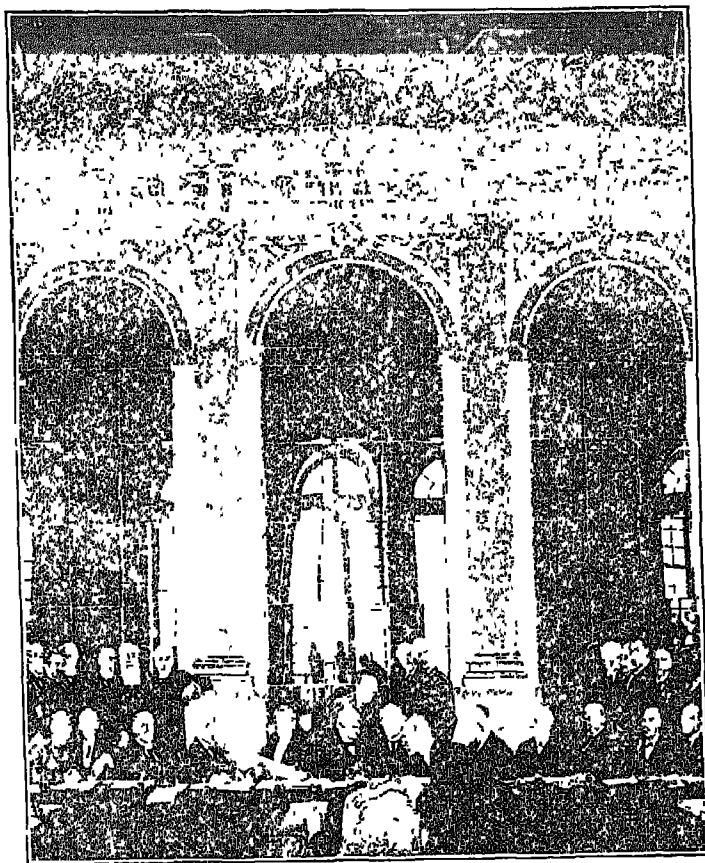
The earlier months of 1918 were the most dangerous period of the war for the Allies. Allied resources were becoming exhausted, and the Americans were not yet in the field. The British government, which had been under the leadership of Mr Lloyd George since the end of 1916, did not agree with Haig's policy of spending the British forces in vain attempts to smash the German lines. The British and French commanders were not united. And the German commander, Ludendorff, aware that Germany was exhausted and that her government was breaking down, was risking everything on a series of great offensives, which he regarded as his last chance of gaining victory.

Ludendorff's principal attack was made against the British on the Somme, and the Allies were steadily driven back. In another attack on the French, the Germans reached the Marne, from which they had been driven in 1914. In this crisis the French Marshal Foch was given command of the Allied armies. American troops were beginning to arrive in large numbers, and in July Foch launched a counter-offensive, which drove the Germans steadily back until, in September, the Hindenburg Line was crossed.

Events on the eastern front now began to be decisive. Bulgaria surrendered to an allied offensive, and the Italians routed the Austrians at Vittorio Veneto. Austria collapsed, and Turkey was forced to surrender by the advance of Allenby, who, having destroyed the Turkish army in Palestine, invaded Syria and took Damascus. These combined disasters, and their reverses on the western front were too much for the German commanders, who knew that their own country was falling into

disorder behind them Ludendorff resigned, and on November 11th an Armistice was signed

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

When the Allies met in Paris to arrange the terms of peace, their task was complicated by the enormous number of questions that must be decided with as little delay as possible, and by the large number of nations whose interests had to be considered

Imperial War Museum

THE SIGNING OF PEACE IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS, VERSAILLES, 28TH JUNE, 1919

Nominally all the Allied nations united in making the peace settlement. Actually the final decisions lay with the representatives of the most important Allied powers: the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy. America was represented by President Wilson, and the European powers by their Prime Ministers: Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando.

The difficulties that faced the peace conference were tremendous. The European system had broken down under the strain of the war, and Europe was undergoing a wave of revolutions. In Russia the Bolshevists were still struggling to establish their government. In Germany the Kaiser had abdicated, and a democratic republic had been established under Ebert, but the new government was not yet very firmly seated. The Austrian empire had fallen to pieces, and the different races which had been included in it were clamouring for independence. Turkey was in a similar condition. Poland, which had been divided between Russia, Austria, and Germany, had once more come to life. If the Allies had wanted to restore the old order of things they could only have done so by force. But the business of establishing a new order raised many difficult questions.

THE AIMS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

There was a good deal of confusion as to what kind of a peace was to be made. The American President, Wilson, whose detachment from European affairs made him able to view the situation more calmly than Europeans, saw the wisdom of a moderate settlement that would not leave behind it war-producing grievances. He wanted the establishment of a "League of Nations," which would provide an international organisation for the peaceful settlement of world affairs. He also supported the establishment of national governments in Poland and in the states which had been under the rule of Austria-Hungary. As a result, the "Fourteen Points," in which his policy was laid down, were a rather complicated mixture of nationalism and internationalism.

Wilson's wise desire for a moderate settlement conflicted with the French determination to disarm and crush Germany as far as possible. England wanted to steer a course somewhere between the French and the American one. She was not interested in taking territory from Germany in Europe, nor in crushing her

permanently. But the English people, angered by the war, and especially by the submarine campaign, were in no mood for a really wise and moderate peace. They wanted to punish the Germans by exacting heavy reparations from them, and they refused to believe the economic experts who told them that this could not be done without throwing international trade and finance into confusion.

The final settlement was a compromise between the differing views of those who made it. Wilson could not force upon Europe the moderate policy he desired, but he did manage to bring the League of Nations into existence. Clemenceau and the French did not obtain the Rhine frontier they desired, but they succeeded in disarming Germany for years, and inflicting great humiliations upon her. Lloyd George, who did good work in reconciling French and American differences, was compelled by English public opinion to push forward a disastrous policy of exacting reparations, in which he himself did not believe.

The settlement was achieved by a series of peace treaties: the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, the Treaty of St. Germain with Austria, the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary, the Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria, and the Treaty of Sévres with Turkey. Many of the new boundaries were left to be settled by agreement between the states concerned.

GERMAN DISARMAMENT: THE LEAGUE: REPARATIONS

Germany had been obliged by the terms of the armistice to hand over her fleet, guns, and aeroplanes to the Allies. The fleet was scuttled by its officers, rather to the relief of the Allies, who knew that the task of dividing it up would lead to new disputes. The defeated powers were not permitted to re-arm, but only to maintain small armies to keep order at home. The excuse put forward for this was that there was to be a general disarmament of all the powers, but this did not take place.

A League of Nations was established, but the Allies would not consent to give it an army. Therefore, its influence in enforcing international decisions could only be a moral one, and depended upon the support of the great powers. At first the defeated nations were excluded from it, and it was a League of the Allied powers alone. Russia was excluded because of Allied opposition to the Bolshevist régime. America, where Wilson's

policy failed to obtain support, refused to join at all The League, as constituted by the treaties, provided the framework for an international organisation, which might be developed later

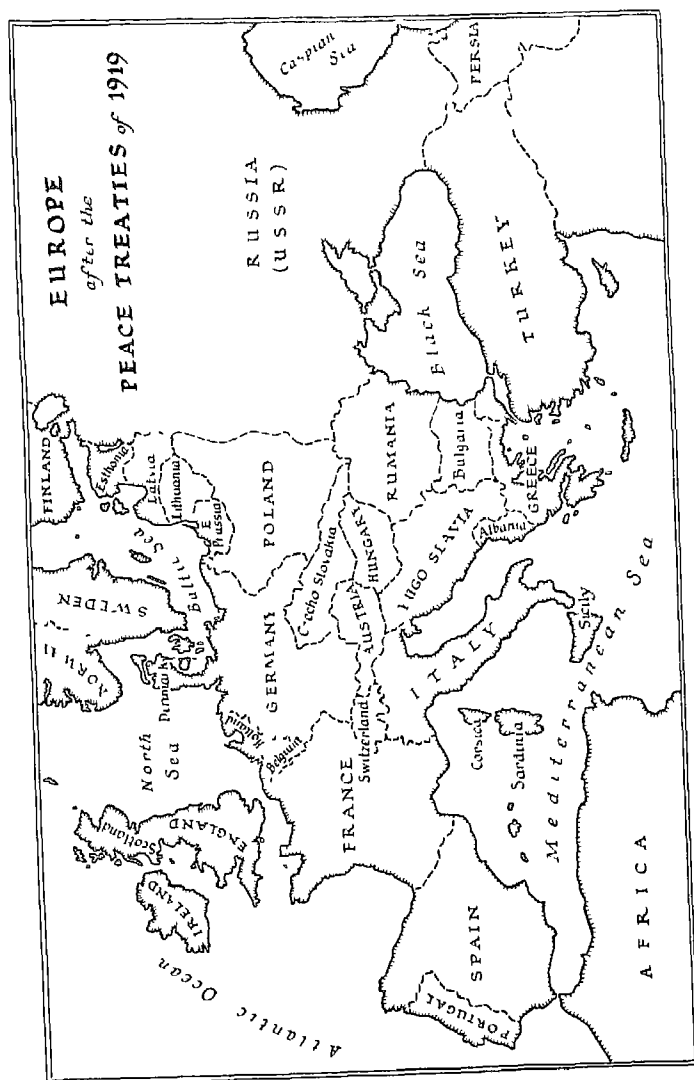
The Allies determined to exact reparations from Germany, but the amount was left undetermined To counterbalance the destruction of Allied shipping during the war the Germans had to surrender their merchant fleet The reparations question remained an unsettling influence in European politics for years

TERRITORIAL CHANGES

The treaties made many territorial changes Alsace and Lorraine were restored to France, which also received the Saar valley, with its coalfields, for a period of fifteen years On the east of Germany, Poland, which had been partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the eighteenth century, was restored to independence Between Poland and the sea lay East Prussia, so, to give Poland an outlet to the Baltic, the port of Danzig on that sea was made a Free City, under the protection of the League of Nations, and East Prussia was cut in two by a " Polish corridor " between Danzig and Poland Poland formed one of a barrier of states erected between Germany and Russia, the others to the north being the small Baltic states of Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Latvia

No attempt was made to reconstitute the Austro-Hungarian empire, which had fallen to pieces Part of its territories went to form the new state of Czecho-Slovakia, and other parts were united with Serbia under the name of Jugo-Slavia Hungary, much reduced in size, became independent Austria, with part of the Tyrol cut off from her and given to Italy, became a small state with a great capital, Vienna, and industries too large for her existing population to support Though German in race, she was forbidden to unite with Germany

The German colonies were divided among the Allies, Britain receiving German South-west Africa, and German East Africa (Tanganyika) From Turkey Great Britain obtained Iraq (Mesopotamia), and Palestine Germany was left entirely without colonies a situation sure to produce a lasting grievance In accordance with the new ideas of internationalism, the division of colonies was made in the name of the League of Nations

The powers were to administer them by the League's "mandate," in accordance with certain conditions, laid down for the protection of native races

CHAPTER LVI

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

WAR-TIME ORGANISATION AND STATE "PLANNING"

During the war, the national life of England had been deeply affected by the need to organise all the country's resources for the struggle. For the time, political parties set their differences aside Asquith formed a Coalition government (1915), in which all parties were represented. At the end of 1916 Asquith was replaced as Prime Minister by Lloyd George, who felt that a more drastic policy, and more complete abandonment of traditional methods were necessary

The whole energy of the nation was employed, not only in maintaining the great army needed in France, but in organising industry at home to supply it with munitions, and with its other necessaries Ships were built in large numbers to replace those destroyed by the German submarine campaign. Food had to be rationed, although none of the Allied powers suffered so severely from lack of food as did their enemies Not only in the control of industry but in all branches of national life, government interference and control were necessary, with the result that people became accustomed to it, and since the war little has been heard of the individualist spirit of the nineteenth century

The most important schools of political thought are now the Socialist one, which wants the State to control and organise industry, and the Conservative one, which wants industry to be left under private control, subjected to a good deal of state direction or "planning" There is a general feeling that modern industrial development has become too complicated to be left altogether to the competition of individuals The weakness of British producers in face of foreign competition has also been a factor in the demand for state subsidies and protection

THE COUPON ELECTION. NATIONAL DISCONTENT

As soon as the war was over Allied statesmen had to face the task of making peace To ensure that they still had the support of the country the Coalition held an election Its

candidates were chosen from the different parties by a rather arbitrary system of government approval, which caused the contest to be nicknamed the "coupon" election This caused a good deal of discontent among those who had been omitted from the government's list When the election was over, the business of peace-making occupied the Prime Minister, and there was little time to spare for home affairs.

Meanwhile the nation was rapidly becoming discontented During the long strain of the war, people had looked forward to peace to bring the end of their troubles, and the establishment of a new order of things Instead, they found themselves faced by all the problems and discomforts of a period of transition During the war, industry had undergone a tremendous development and transformation to supply the needs of the struggle Though prices had been high, wages too had risen, and there had been no lack of employment But, as demobilisation went on, it became more and more difficult to find employment for the returning soldiers Much of the industrial plant installed during the war was either unnecessary or unsuitable for the demands of peace, and important British industries seemed to have permanently declined Working people saw their wages threatened, and there were many strikes At the same time taxation remained heavy, and there was a vigorous demand for reduction in the size of government departments

The government's foreign policy seemed likely to end in a war with Turkey The long struggle with Sinn Fein in Ireland had discredited the Coalition, and there was much opposition to the Irish Treaty, and to the grant of Dominion status to the Irish Free State In 1922, the Conservatives, led by Mr Bonar Law and Mr. Baldwin, revolted against Mr Lloyd George. The Coalition was broken up, and a Conservative government came into power with Mr Bonar Law as Prime Minister

LABOUR GOVERNMENT THE ZINOVIEFF LETTER

The period of Conservative government was a short one, and was principally occupied by the political and economic difficulties caused by attempts to exact reparations from Germany and to effect a settlement concerning the repayment of loans made to the Allies by the United States during the war England was getting nothing out of "reparations," and was burdened by heavy

taxation for the payment of "war debts." The problem of transferring vast sums of money from one nation to another was upsetting the money-systems of the world, and adding tremendously to the economic depression that followed the war Meanwhile British industries were declining, and unemployment was increasing After seven months of government Mr Bonar Law died, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr Baldwin Baldwin surprised the country by reviving the pre-war tariff policy of the Conservatives, and declaring that prosperity could not be restored without the protection of industries. This involved the defeat of the Conservatives in the general election, and a Labour government came into power under the leadership of Mr Ramsay MacDonald (1923)

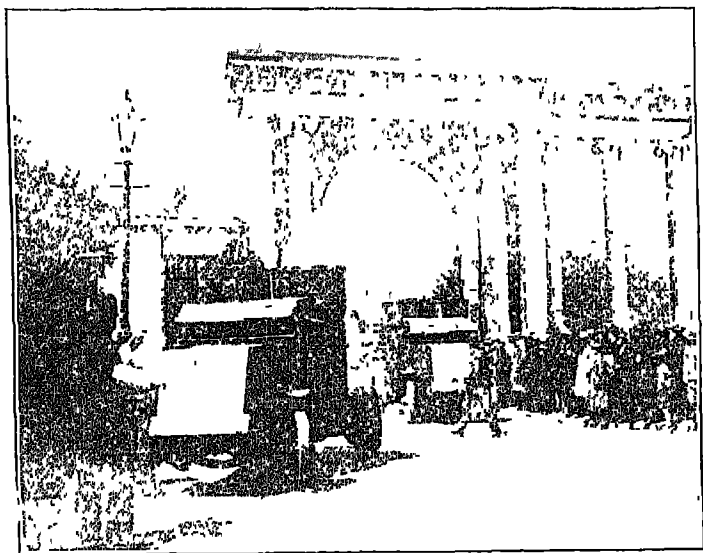
The election had been fought over Free Trade and the successful Liberal and Labour Free Traders outnumbered the Conservatives. Of the two the Labour party was the more numerous, so a Labour government came into power for the first time, but it was in a very precarious position Only Liberal support saved it from being defeated by the Conservatives, and the Liberal and Labour programme were not the same, nor did the two parties come to any agreement which would enable them to work together. In such a position the Labour government could do little.

National feeling against the Bolshevists made its rather wavering negotiations with Russia suspect, and this led to a demand for an official enquiry when the prosecution of a Communist named Campbell, was stopped When Mr MacDonald appealed to the country, the Russian scare was at its height Publication of the "Zinovieff Letter"—a letter from the Communist International to the British Communist party, advocating revolutionary measures—carried great weight with the electors This completed the effect of its already unpopular Russian policy in causing the government to be defeated

THE GENERAL STRIKE

The Conservative government of Baldwin (1924-1929) had abandoned the attempt to force any general measure of protection on an unwilling nation, though measures were passed for "safeguarding" certain industries Its chief financial achievement was a return to the "gold standard," which meant that

the value of English money was raised by being once more brought into its former relation with that of gold (1925). Mr Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, intended this measure to improve British credit, but it also had the effect of hampering the export trade by setting the value of British money above that of most foreign countries This meant that British manufacturers must either drop the price of their goods, or find that their prices were higher than those of their foreign competitors

The increased difficulty of trading threatened coal-exports, and

THE GENERAL STRIKE ARMOURED CARS ESCORT FOOD SUPPLIES

led to an attempt either to decrease wages, or to lengthen hours in the mines The result was a prolonged dispute, which developed in a coal-strike (1926) The Trade Unions, which supported the miners, then decided to call a General Strike, a method which had not been tried before, and which, if continued, must, by breaking down all national services, either coerce the government into giving way, or cause a revolution The union leaders certainly did not contemplate revolution, and the General Strike (May 4th—12th, 1926) was carried on in an orderly fashion that greatly surprised foreign countries Though

temporary transport services were arranged, the national stocks of provisions were rapidly becoming exhausted, and before the end of the strike, the situation was growing serious The unions, which had no wish to change an industrial struggle into a revolutionary movement, accepted the government's terms, though the miners continued to hold out till the middle of November

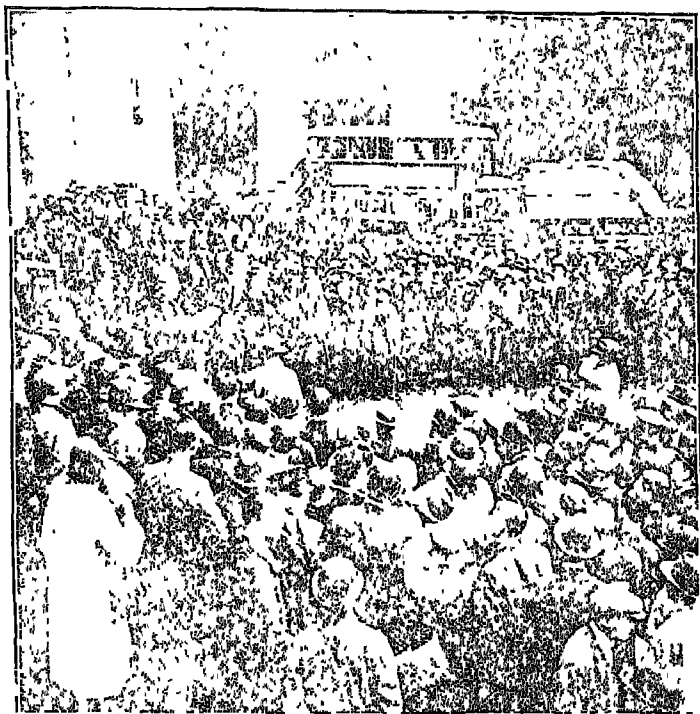
In 1927 an Act was passed which forbade attempts to coerce the community by strikes, made it illegal for one union to strike in support of another, and limited rights of picketing and of levying political contributions from union members. In 1928 the government passed a measure for "de-rating," which relieved agriculture altogether, and industry partially, from the burden of rates, and made up the loss to local authorities by grants from the Exchequer In 1929 a Local Government Act unified Poor Law Administration by placing it under the control of County and Borough Councils, whose "Public Assistance Committees" was to replace the local Boards of Guardians

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION THE "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT"

Meanwhile the industrial depression continued and unemployment, especially in certain areas, had reached proportions unknown before. A system of unemployment insurance, nicknamed the "dole," kept the unemployed from actual starvation The country was discontented, and inclined for a change of government, and the Trade Unions had been angered by the Trades Disputes Act In 1929 another Labour government, under Mr MacDonald, came into power, for the Liberal party, left as a middle party between Conservative and Socialist extremes, found their Parliamentary numbers steadily decreasing

Again the Labour party lacked a clear majority, and had to depend upon Liberal support Its position was also made more difficult by a financial crisis in the United States of America (1929), followed by a world depression that made the industrial situation worse than ever The Unemployment Insurance Fund was insolvent, it was almost impossible to balance budgets, and in 1931 a financial crisis arose The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Snowden, demanded sweeping economies, but many of his colleagues advocated a policy of borrowing,

increased unemployment pay, and an attempt to restore trade by increasing spending capacity Foreign nations became alarmed, borrowing became impossible, and foreign gold was rapidly withdrawn from England

The split in the Labour Cabinet continued, so Mr MacDonald and his supporters united with members of the other parties to

Central Press Photos Ltd

READING PROCLAMATION OF DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT FROM STEPS OF ROYAL EXCHANGE, 1931.

form a " National Government " to deal with the crisis They obtained an overwhelming majority in the country (1931) The new government eased the situation of foreign trade by abandoning the " gold-standard," so that British prices could compete with continental ones (1931) It also imposed a tariff upon

imports (1932), so the traditional British policy of Free Trade was at last abandoned

RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM EUROPEAN DESPOTISM

The end of the war left Europe in a confusion which the peace treaties could only partially bring to an end Though it was possible to divide up the territories of the fallen Austrian and Turkish empires to make new states, and to fix boundaries, the strain of war had shaken or destroyed the governments of the European nations, and had left a legacy of revolution and internal disorder

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Russian monarchy had seemed to be one of the strongest in Europe But the disasters of the Crimean War had shown the corruption and inefficiency of the government During the second half of the century there was a growing demand for reform, which stern repression helped to make revolutionary In the early years of the twentieth century, Nicholas II made a show of establishing constitutional government, but the Russian " Duma," or Parliament, was really powerless

The Great War exposed the worst defects of Russian despotism In 1917 the disorganisation of the government led to a revolution The Czar abdicated, and after a short period of moderate rule, the Bolshevists, or Communists, came into power under the leadership of Lenin Lenin established a new kind of despotism in Russia In theory power was to be in the hands of the working-class and all the results of their labours were to be divided among them But the task of bringing about this state of things was to be left to the leaders of the Communist party, who were to have supreme authority as a " dictatorship of the proletariat " Throughout the country political power was concentrated in the hands of the Communist party

The result of the Russian experiment is still to be seen, but in establishing itself and putting down opposition the Bolshevist government carried out a campaign of violence and terror that shocked Europe Also its avowed policy of stirring up revolution in other countries alarmed European governments, and left Russia for some time in the position of an outlaw country But, with the passage of time, and the realisation of its own difficulties, the new government became less violent, and European opinion

became more impressed by its achievements The terror of Communism that spread through Europe after the Russian revolution gave rise to another form of despotism, also established by violence This was the Fascist régime established in Italy (1922), and imitated later by the Nazis, who took control of Germany in 1933

THE NEAR EAST

In the Near East the Great War was followed by a war between the Greeks and the Turks, in which the Greeks had the support of the Allies, whose troops occupied Constantinople The Greeks occupied Smyrna in Asia Minor and overran Eastern Thrace In 1919 the Allies made peace with Turkey in the Treaty of Sévres (1919), which gave some Turkish territory to Greece, and arranged for Greek, French, and Italian spheres of influence in Asia Minor

But this attempt to complete the division of Turkey failed, for the Turks, who had lost so much territory through the nationalist movements of their subjects, were at last having a nationalist movement of their own, led by Mustapha Kemel A new Turkish capital was established at Angora, and the Greeks were driven out of Asia Minor Constantinople remained in the hands of the Allies, but Mr Lloyd George's announcement that the Turks were not to be permitted to regain control of the Dardanelles, led immediately to a Turkish attack upon the Allied troops at Chanak (1922) The French and Italians at once withdrew, and the British, unwilling to undertake war against Turkey alone, united with them in peace negotiations By the Peace of Lausanne (1923), the Turks regained Constantinople and their control of Asia Minor was recognised Kemel then began the reorganisation of his country on western lines In 1926 more trouble between Britain and Turkey was narrowly avoided over the question of Mosul

WAR DEBTS AND REPARATIONS

Meanwhile France was trying to exact reparations from Germany by force The war had left the Germans disorganised and starving, and as the Allies did not end their blockade till the peace treaty had been signed, this state of things continued till the middle of 1919 The new Republican government was under

enormous difficulties, and the Allies were faced by the task of exacting reparations from them· the amount of which had at last been fixed at £6,000,000,000 in 1921

Economists had from the first predicted that the exaction of reparations would prove impossible, because of the difficulty of finding any means of transferring such vast sums from one country to another. To pay it over in gold would have exhausted the gold supplies needed for international trade Allied countries would not admit huge quantities of German goods, which would have swamped their own industries and trade But neither statesmen nor nations would be convinced

In 1923 the French and Belgians, in spite of British opposition, occupied the German industrial district of the Ruhr, in the hope of obtaining reparation by working the industries for their own benefit The result was disastrous The French did not succeed in obtaining anything from the Ruhr, whose inhabitants began a campaign of passive resistance The occupation was not only expensive and dangerous, but it led to the complete breakdown of the German financial system German bankruptcy was followed by financial disorder in France

There followed a long period during which war-debts and reparations upset the money systems and trade of the world In 1924 the Ruhr was evacuated, and schemes for German payment, the Dawes plan and the Young plan, followed each other in the attempt to solve the reparations questions On the other hand the Allies continued negotiations over the repayment of their war-debt to America This, they argued, ought to depend on the possibility of exacting reparations from Germany, but the Americans refused to admit any connection between the two liabilities

In the end a peculiar situation arose, in which "creditor" countries were lending "debtor" countries the money with which their debts were being paid This continued till a financial crisis in the United States (1929) ended American lending, and Germany, after attempts to borrow money elsewhere to cover her liabilities, collapsed in 1931. In Britain the crisis of 1931 followed, and the general confusion led to the virtual cancelling of reparations by the Conference of Lausanne (1932) The United States continued to insist on repayment, but France made no attempt to comply, and in 1932 Great Britain was obliged to default

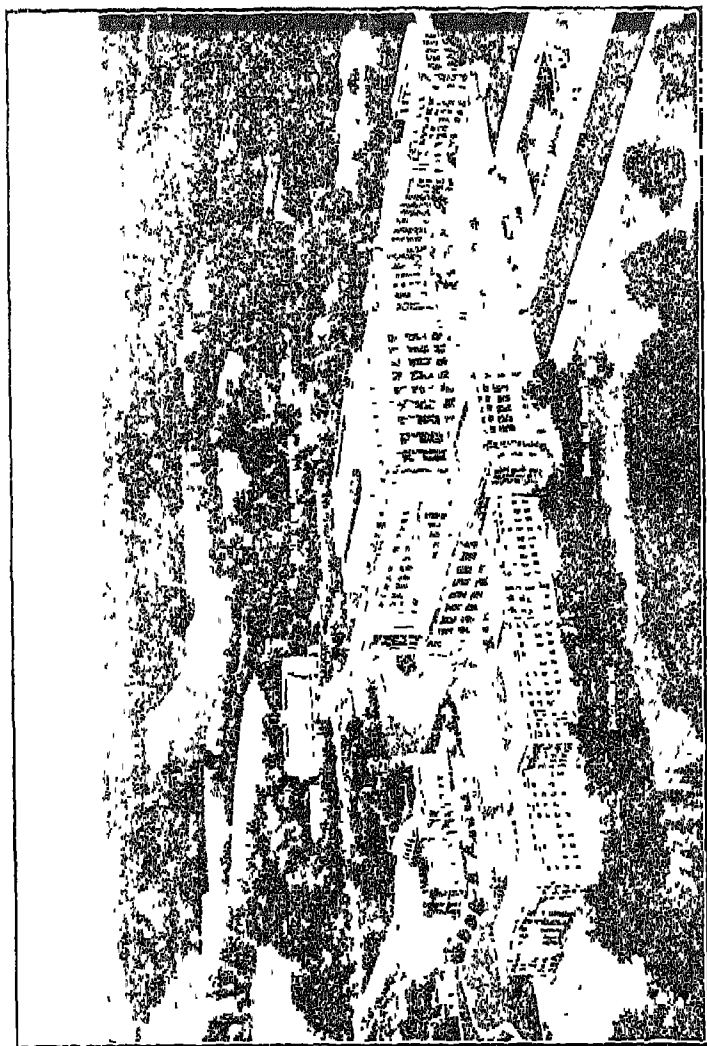
In the midst of the financial disorder and industrial depression caused by war-debts and reparations, nations were trying to achieve a private prosperity of their own by developing their own industries and raising heavy tariff barriers against goods from other countries Great Britain, whose free-trading economists predicted that such a policy could only lead to an even greater decline of trade, held aloof from this general tendency until the crisis of 1931, after which she too began to impose tariffs on imports

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Besides reparations and trade, the question that has most closely concerned Europe since the war has been the maintenance of peace The League of Nations, set up by the peace treaty, has had a chequered career It has proved useful as a means of dealing with questions of international importance, such as the drug traffic Also with the entry of Germany (1926) it ceased to be the organ of the victorious powers alone But it has been weakened by later desertions

The League has not been very successful in securing a settlement of international disputes, and so avoiding war The tendency is for nations to leave it altogether when they feel that its decisions interfere with their interests No satisfactory way of bringing pressure to bear upon those who go to war in spite of it has yet been evolved

Another attempt to prevent war has been by means of disarmament conferences, but these have had little result The failure of other countries to disarm led Germany to claim the right to re-arm herself, which she has done under the Hitler government Other countries have followed the German example in adding to their armaments

Another method of attempting to keep the peace has been by agreement between various powers In 1925 the Locarno Treaty between France, Britain, Germany, Italy, and Belgium was signed These powers agreed never to make war on each other, while all were to support any one of them who was attacked by another Similar treaties were made between France, Germany, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland, but Great Britain kept out of these, as it is her policy to avoid engagements in Central Europe

LEAGUE OF NATIONS HEADQUARTERS IN GENEVA

Keystone

In 1928 the powers accepted the "Kellogg Pact," which denounced the use of war, but Britain reserved freedom of action in certain areas, where her interests were specially concerned In 1933 a "Four Power Pact" to co-operate in maintaining peace was made between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy But the rearmament of Germany under the Hitler régime, and the Italian war in Abyssinia, have caused much unrest in Europe, and have rendered these peace pacts ineffective

DOMINION AUTONOMY

During the war the British empire remained firmly united The self-governing Dominions organised expeditionary forces to fight in France, and India contributed both men and money to the Allied cause But after the war various imperial problems had to be met the demand of India for self-government and that of Egypt for independence, and the question of how far the Dominions were free to control their foreign, as well as their domestic, policy

It had always been understood that, though the Dominions were self-governing, the British Parliament retained control of the foreign policy of the Empire But in 1922 this view was challenged when the Dominions led by Canada, denied that they had any obligation to give military support to British policy with regard to Turkey They argued that that policy did not concern them, and they had not been consulted about it

In 1923 an Imperial Conference was held, and it was agreed that a Dominion should go to war only with the consent of its own Parliament Also, while the general control of foreign policy was to be left to the British Parliament, a Dominion was itself to undertake foreign negotiations in matters which specially concerned it This meant that the Dominions were in future not only to control their domestic government, but also, to a large extent, their foreign policy as well It was not clear how far they were bound to support the foreign policy of Great Britain Thus the whole question of the relationship between the Dominions and the British government was raised

After two more Imperial Conferences (1926 and 1930) this question was settled by the Statute of Westminster (1931) It was enacted that the Dominions are "autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate

to each other in their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations" This formula is a very wide one, and wisely leaves it for future experience to decide how the claims of the Dominions to manage their own affairs, both domestic and foreign, can best be reconciled with their union in the British Empire Such a settlement is in harmony with British constitutional tradition, which leaves institutions to develop and change to suit circumstances, without hampering them by rigid formulas

EGYPTIAN INDEPENDENCE

In Egypt the effect of the war was to convert the British occupation into a Protectorate. Nominally Egypt had still remained a part of the Turkish empire, and the Egyptian Khedive was the representative of the Sultan of Turkey If this connection with Turkey had been continued after the Turks entered the war against the Allies, Egypt would have become an enemy state Turkish suzerainty was abolished, a British protectorate was proclaimed, and the Egyptian Khedive became Sultan of Egypt

During the war Egypt became increasingly opposed to British rule When the peace settlement was being made, the Egyptian nationalists, led by Zaghlul Pasha, demanded that Egypt should share in the independence promised to the other subject races of the Turkish Empire by President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" But among the many problems of the peace settlement the Egyptian situation was neglected Egyptian discontent showed itself in strikes and rioting, which led to the appointment of the Milner Commission to plan the future government of the country.

This Commission was at first boycotted by the Nationalists, but finally Lord Milner came to an agreement with Zaghlul It was suggested that a treaty between Great Britain and Egypt should be signed, by which the independence of Egypt under a constitutional monarchy should be recognised Great Britain was to retain the right to control Egyptian foreign affairs, and to maintain a force in Egypt to protect her interests, especially with regard to the Suez Canal

Unfortunately, this opportunity for a settlement was lost by further delay The treaty was not made, further Nationalist

outbreaks occurred, and Zaghlul Pasha was deported. The disturbances were suppressed, and the British government at last adopted a conciliatory policy. The independence of Egypt was recognised, but the British government reserved the right to secure communications in Egypt between different parts of the Empire, the right to defend the country against foreign invasion, and to protect foreign residents, and the control of the Sudan.

But since this settlement (1922) was made by British proclamation, and not by a treaty with the Egyptians, the Egyptians did not hold themselves to be bound by it, and demanded control of the Sudan. Egyptian unrest continued, and in 1924 Sir Lee Stack, the Governor-General of the Sudan was murdered in Cairo. Parliamentary government was suspended, and there followed a long series of attempts to reach a final settlement.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

Since the war Indian government, too, has been an important problem. In 1917 Mr. Montagu, the Secretary for India, laid down the principles of future British policy in India in a speech in the House of Commons. This policy was to be not only "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, but also the greatest possible development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British empire."

Indian Nationalists paid more attention to the promise of responsible government, which they interpreted as meaning that India was to have Dominion status, than to Mr. Montagu's qualification of it. He had stated that the change in the position of India was to be made gradually, and as the British government might think wise.

After the war Indian Nationalists began a violent campaign for self-government. To deal with this the government passed the Rowlatt Acts which gave it special powers to deal with violent sedition. The Act proved to be unwise. It aroused so much feeling that it had to be withdrawn, and its withdrawal was interpreted as a sign of weakness. The campaign of violence was now accompanied by one of passive resistance to British rule, led by Mr. Ghandi, who had obtained great influence over India as a social and religious reformer.

In 1919 an unfortunate incident occurred at Armritzar, in the Punjab, where General Dyer ordered his troops to fire on a mob, with the result that 400 people were killed, and about 1000 wounded. The Hunter Committee, appointed by the government, condemned Dyer's action, and the justice of this decision was much debated in England. The Armritzar incident embittered feeling on both sides, and so hampered the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for the government of India adopted in 1919.

The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was an experiment which was to be revised at the end of ten years. It established in India a system known as "diarchy," by which the work of the Indian Provincial Councils was divided between the Governor and his officials, and Indian members responsible to the Indian electorate. The officials were to deal with "reserved" subjects, such as finance, law, and order, and the Indian ministers with "transferred" subjects, such as public health and education. Indian members were also to be elected to the Central Assembly.

The working of this system depended very much on the spirit in which officials and Indian ministers co-operated with each other, so it was much more successful in some of the Provincial Councils than in others. But the Indians never regarded it as more than a provisional arrangement, and were determined to secure a further measure of self-government in 1929. Mr Ghandi continued his campaign of boycotting British rule, but most of his followers broke away from this policy, preferring to press their aims forward as a political opposition in the Assembly.

Meanwhile the struggle between Britain and Turkey had caused anti-British feeling among the Mohammedans of India, and had united them with the Hindus against British rule. When Turkey, under Mustapha Kemel, renounced the leadership of the Mohammedan world, this feeling subsided, and the old feud between Mohammedans and Hindus reappeared.

In 1929 the Simon Commission was sent to report upon the government of India. In 1930 the Commission recommended the abolition of "diarchy" in the Provincial Councils, and the transference of all departments of Indian administration to Indian ministers. India was to become a federation of states, but control of the central Executive was to remain in British hands. This "Simon Report" aroused a great deal of opposition in England, since many people felt that it went too far in

the direction of self-government Also the consent of the Indian princes was necessary for the establishment of an Indian federation, for, in addition to "British India," the Indian Empire includes a great number of "native states," the rights of whose rulers have been guaranteed by Britain.

It was not until 1935 that conferences and discussions ended in the passing of the Government of India Act This gave the Indian provinces Parliamentary government Their legislative assemblies were to be elected, and the cabinets of provincial governors were to be chosen from their members This new system was working before the end of 1937.

The Act also provided for a federation of India, if the rulers of at least half the total population of the native states would agree to join it Like the provinces, the federal government was to be Parliamentary But a sufficient number of Indian princes have not yet (1938) agreed to join the federation, so this part of the Act cannot be carried out

Under the new system the Governor-General of India is still to have control of defence, religious measures, and foreign relations, and both he and the provincial governors can override the will of their ministers in emergencies

1784–1913

Monarchs

GEORGE III 1760-1820, WILLIAM IV, 1830-1837, EDWARD VII, 1901-1910

GEORGE IV, 1820-1830, VICTORIA, 1837-1901, GEORGE V, 1910-1936

Ministries		*Gt Britain and Ireland*	*Europe*	*British Empire*
Pitt (1st), 1783-1801	1784			1784 Pitt's India Act
	'86			1787 Convict settlement in New South Wales.
	'88		1788 Triple Alliance (Britain, Prussia, and Holland) 1789 States General Fall of the Bastille	
	90		1791 Declaration of Pillnitz	1791 Pitt's Canada Act '91-92 2nd Mysore War
	92		1792 Verdun and Valmy and September massacres Execution of Louis XVI 1793 *Revolutionary War*	
	94		1794 " Glorious 1st of June "	
	96	1795 { Fitzwilliam Episode Speenhamland " Act "	1797 Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore St Vincent and Camperdown	

Ministries		*Gt Britain and Ireland*		*Europe*		*British Empire*	
Pitt (1st)	'98	1798	Vinegar Hill	1798	Battle of the Nile		
				1799	Marengo and Hohenlinden	1799	3rd Mysore War
Addington, 1801-1804	1800	1800	Act of Union	1801	Armed Neutrality and destruction of Danish fleet	1801	Annexation of Carnatic and N W Provinces
	'02			1802	*Peace of Amiens*	1802	Treaty of Bassein
		1803	Emmott's rebellion	1803	*Napoleonic War*	1803	2nd Maratha War Assaye, Argaum, Laswari
Pitt (2nd), 1804-1806	'04			1804	Napoleon, Emperor of the French		
				1805	Trafalgar, Ulm, Austerlitz		
"All the Talents, 1806-1807	'06	1806	Death of Pitt and Fox	1806	Jena, Auerstadt, Berlin decree		
Portland, 1807-1809				1807	Eylau Friedland Tilsit Orders in Council Milan decree	1807	Abolition of the slave trade
	08	1808	British and Foreign School Society	1808	Baylen Vimieiro		
Perceval 1809-1812				1809	Corunna Wagram, Talavera		
	'10			1810	Busaco		
		1811	National School Society	1811	Almeida Albuera		
Liverpool, 1812-1827	'12			1812	Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos—Salamanca Borodino — Retreat from Moscow	1812-14	Anglo-American War

Ministries	*Gt Britain and Ireland*	*Europe*	*British Empire*
Liverpool		1813 Lutzen Dresden Leipzic Vittoria	
'14		1814 Toulouse *Congress of Vienna*	1814 Acquisition of Cape Colony; Gurkha War
			1815 Treaty with Nepal
	1815 Corn Law	1815 Hundred Days—Waterloo; Holy Alliance—Quadruple Alliance	
'16	1816 Suspension of "Habeas Corpus"		
	1817 The "Blanketeers"		1817-18 3rd Maratha War Korki Sitabaldi Asti Mahidpur
'18		1818 Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle	1818 Treaties with Marathas and Rajputs; Canadian frontier fixed
	1819 "Peterloo" — "Six Acts"; Peel's Factory Act		
'20	1820 Cato St Conspiracy; The Queen's Divorce	1820 Congress of Troppau; Greek revolt	
	1821 Disfranchisement of Crampound		
22	1823 Catholic Association	1822 Congress of Verona	1823 Monroe doctrine
24	1824-5 Repeal of Combination Laws		1824-6 1st Burmese War

Ministries		Gt Britain and Ireland		Europe		British Empire	
Liverpool						1824	South American independence *recognised* by Canning
		1825	Completion of Stockton-Darlington railway				
	'26					1826	Settlement at Brisbane (Queensland)
Canning, 1827				1827	Battle of Navarino		
Wellington, 1828-1830	'28	1828	Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts				
		1829	Catholic Emancipation; Metropolitan police force	1829	Treaty of Adrianople	1829	Settlement in Western Australia
Grey, 1830-1834	'30			1830	" July Revolution "; Belgian revolt		
	32	1832	1st Reform Act				
		1833	Althorp's Factory Act—1st grant for education—Abolition of slavery	1833	Treaty of Unkiar-Skalessi	1833	India Act
Peel (1st), 1834	'34	1834	Poor Law Amendment Act; Tamworth Manifesto	1834	Quadruple Alliance	1834	Settlement in Victoria; Settlement in South Australia
Melbourne, 1834-1841		1835	Municipal Corporations Act				
	'36					1836	" Great Trek " began
						1837	Canadian rebellion

Ministries		Gt Britain and Ireland		Europe		British Empire	
Melbourne	'38	1838	Anti-Corn Law League; People's Charter				
		1839	Bedchamber Question	1839	Belgian independence and neutrality acknowledged	1839	1st Chinese War; 1st Afghan War; Durham report
	'40					1840	Annexation of New Zealand
Peel (2nd), 1841-1846				1841	Convention of the Straits	1841	Canada Act
	'42					1842	Khyber Pass disaster
						1843	Annexation of Sindh; Annexation of Natal
	'44	1844	Bank Charter Act			1845-6	1st Sikh War
Russell (1st), 1846-1852	'46	1846	Irish Famine; Repeal of the Corn Laws	1846	The Spanish Marriages	1846	Oregon settlement
	'48	1848	Chartist petition	1848	"Year of Revolutions"; 2nd French Republic		
						1849	2nd Sikh War Annexation of the Punjab
	50			1850	Don Pacifico incident		
		1851	"Great Exhibition."	1851	Louis Napoleon President for life		
Derby (1st) 1852	'52						
Aberdeen, 1852-1855				1852	2nd French Empire	1852	2nd Burmese War; Federation of New Zealand; Sand River Convention

Ministries		*Gt Britain and Ireland*	*Europe*	*British Empire*
Aberdeen			1853 Sinope	
			Crimean War	
	'54		1854 Alma — Balaclava — Inkerman	1854 Self-government granted to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania
Palmerston (1st), 1855-1858	'56		1856 Treaty of Paris	
				1857-8 Indian Mutiny
Derby (2nd), 1858-1859	'58			1858 India Act; 2nd Chinese War
			1859 Magenta—Solferino	
Palmerston (2nd) 1859-1865	'60		1860 Garibaldi's conquest of Naples and Sicily	1860-5 American Civil War
	'62			
	'64		1864 Schleswig-Holstein dispute	
Russell (2nd), 1865-1866				
Derby (3rd), 1866-1868	'66		1866 Austro-Prussian War Sadowa	
		1867 2nd Reform Act		1867 British North America Act
Disraeli (1st), 1868	1868			
Gladstone (1st), 1868-1874		1869 Irish Church disestablished		1869 Completion of Suez Canal
	'70	1870 1st Irish Land Act	1870-1. Franco-Prussian War Sedan	

Ministries		*Gt Britain and Ireland*		*Europe*		*British Empire*	
Gladstone		1870	Forster's Education Act	1870-1	Completion of German and Italian unity		
		1871	Local Government Board				
	'72					1872	' Alabama " dispute settled
		1873	Home Rule League				
Disraeli (2nd), 1874-1880	'74						
		1875	Public Health Act Artisans' Dwellings' Act Employers and Workmen's Act			1875	Gt Britain obtained control of Suez Canal
	76	1876	Merchant Shipping Act				
						1877	Queen Victoria, Empress of India Annexation of the Transvaal Zulu Wars
	78	1878	Factories and Workshops Act	1878	Treaty of San Stefano Congress and Treaty of Berlin	1878-80	2nd Afghan War
		1879	Irish Land League	1879	Dual Alliance	1879	Dual control of Egypt
Gladstone (2nd), 1880-1885	80	1881	2nd Irish Land Act			1881	Majuba—Independence of the Transvaal
	'82	1882	Phoenix Park murders	1882	Triple Alliance	1882	Tel-el-Kebir—British occupation of Egypt
	'84	1884	3rd Reform Act			1885	Annexation of Bechuanaland
Salisbury (1st) 1885-1886							

Ministries		Gt Britain and Ireland		Europe		British Empire	
Salisbury						1885	Khartoum — Evacuation of Sudan; Pendjeh incident—Indian National Congress
Gladstone (3rd), '86	'86	1886	1st Gladstone Home Rule Bill			1886	Canadian Pacific Rly; Royal Niger Company
Salisbury (2nd), 1886-1892	'88	1888	County Councils Act			1888	South African Company
	'90						
Gladstone (4th) 1892-1894	'92					1893	British protectorate of Uganda
Rosebery, 1894-5	'94	1894	Rural and Urban Councils Act			1894	Protectorate of British East Africa; Annexation of Rhodesia
Salisbury (3rd) 1895-1902	'96			1896	Franco-Russian Alliance	1895	Jameson raid
	'98					1898	Omdurman—Fashoda
						1899-1902	Boer War
						1899	Nigeria protectorate
	1900					1900	Boxer rebellion; Australian Commonwealth Act
		1901	Taff Vale Judgment				
Balfour, 1902-5	'02	1902	Balfour Education Act			1902	Anglo-Japanese Alliance

Ministries		*Gt Britain and Ireland*	*Europe*	*British Empire*
Balfour		1903 Beginning of Tariff controversy		
	'04		1904 Anglo-French Entente	
Campbell-Bannerman, 1905-1908	'06	1906 Trades Disputes Act Labour Party in Commons	1906 Algeciras Conference	
			1907 Triple Entente	
Asquith, *1908-1915*	'08	1908 Old Age Pensions Act		
		1909 Osborne Judgment		1909 Morley-Minto reforms South African Union
	'10			
		1911 Parliament Act Health Insurance Act	1911 Agadir crisis	
	'12		1912 1st Balkan War	
			1913 2nd Balkan War	

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